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All the material elaboration went into the making of parapher- 293
nalia. With amazing ingenuity the Papago used ocotillo wands, cactus ribs, raw cotton, and deerhide to construct handsome effigies for their dancers to carry. Imitation birds, clouds, mountains, rainbows, and even stuffed deer mounted on a platform were properties for the dancers of the great prayer-stick festival.

DANCING

There were several styles of dancing, which will be mentioned 535
in detail in connection with each ceremony. At the rain dance, most widespread and popular of all, the dancers clasped hands and revolved in a circle, counterclockwise. At the girl's puberty dance there were two rows of dancers who stepped backward and forward facing each other. At the prayer-stick festival the dancing was in Pueblo style, the men stamping with alternate feet, the women bouncing slightly, with knees bent and elbows held close to the body.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The Papago choice of musical instruments was very small. To 534
accompany a song they had a basket drum, which was nothing more than a common house utensil turned upside down—"because we were poor and did not carry much with us." They had gourd rattles, originally any dried gourd, its stem used as handle and its own seeds within it making the crepitation. They had scraping sticks—notched sticks, slightly curved, over which another stick was rubbed with a rattling noise. But they elaborated a surprising number of techniques with these rudimentary instruments.

The basket drum could be either struck or rubbed. It could be struck by the hand to obtain a dull sound or by a stick to get a sharp one. A stick could be rubbed over the surface to give a slight rattling sound, but for certain modern songs a knife is specified for this purpose. Conversely, for other songs the direction was: "a knife must not be used."

These two methods of using the basket drum, striking and rub-

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Thereby our stomachs shall grow big;
Thereby we shall live.(3)

At some villages a special messenger called at each house to summon the people. He had his face painted black and was known as the blackface. Black was thought to connote dizziness and was used also for warriors, to typify the wildness of battle. He stood at the threshold saying, "My kinsmen, come help us to sing that we may pull down the clouds." One informant, a good singer, said that he then always turned to her and requested: "My sister, now you must help us. It will be only two nights, and then you can rest"(26).

When the singers arrived, they were again instructed:

6. Now here you have assembled;
Now thus we shall do!
With our singing we shall pull down the rain.(4)

At the council house any sacred objects owned by the village had been placed on display; and, if there was nothing more, at least there was a tuft of eagle down over each door, because "everybody keeps a little eagle down." In the center of the dance place was a small fire, from which cigarettes could be lighted. A large fire would "scare away the clouds." The old men who knew the songs sat outside the council house and sang each song to make sure of words and tune. When they had decided on the first song, they called the song leader. This man had been chosen by the council for the liquor singing because of his loud voice and good memory. He held office until too old to sing and then passed on his duties to some male relative to whom he had taught the songs. Each leader generally had several unofficial assistants, with loud voices and good memories, whom he asked to follow him at the head of the line. Some old informants, both men and women, boasted of having belonged to this group, known as "those who walk ahead."

The leader advanced to the dance place, shaking his rattle horizontally, and began the song. The men joined him, clasping hands and stepping sideways, counterclockwise. As other voices joined in, the leader shook his rattle vertically. Gradually the women joined the circle, each placing herself between two men. There was burning rivalry among the young men who hoped to be chosen in

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this way. Tradition tells how they rubbed flower perfume on their hands and carried tiny sacks of the fungus known as "earth flowers" that are supposed to be magically attractive to deer and to women. At the end of the line of adults walked the children. The two ends of the curved line almost joined, and there might be a hundred people dancing.

Each song was sung four times or a multiple of four, and a favorite song might be repeated sixteen or even thirty-two times. The words were in the nature of compulsive magic, describing the coming of the clouds and rain over the local landscape. If any other locality was mentioned as attracting the rain, visitors from there were expected to make a gift in return for the blessing called down. A chance visitor who had no other gift with him would offer some of his clothes—in recent days, his cowboy hat.

The liquor songs [9] may once have been arranged in cycles, though there is little trace of such arrangement now except that certain songs must always be used at the beginning, certain others at the end. Different songs are used for this purpose in the various localities, suggesting that if there were cycles, each locality must have had its own. The initial songs describe the gathering of the people, the final songs, the coming of dawn. Between them come the favorite songs of the village, either traditional or composed by its own people. A man may "dream" a liquor song at any time, either while about his daily occupations or during a retreat for purification. One of the rituals for the salt pilgrimage describes the songs which came to the neophyte in those ceremonies.

> The powers I had won, beneath my bed I placed.
> I lay upon them and lay down to sleep.
> Then, in a little time, mysteriously there came to me
> Beautiful drunken songs,
> Beautiful songs for the circling [rainmaking] dance.

Any man who had dreamed a song might submit it to the elders, and if they approved they would include it in the program. One such "original" song is included in the list, to show how little originality was considered necessary for this sort of composition.

[9] For Pima songs for this dance see Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 292, 293, "circling songs."

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FINAL SONGS 537x

23. Now I have sung
Now I have sung
In every direction they go
In every direction they go
Homeward!
Running!(12)

(Santa Rosa)

24. At the edge of the world
It is growing light.
The trees stand shining.
I like it.
It is getting light.(12)

25. At the edge of the world,
It is growing light.
Up rears the light.
Just yonder, the day dawns,
Spreading over the night.(12)

While the people were dancing several shamans took their places 796x
in the center of the circle, each holding eagle plumes or a tuft of 535
eagle down. Sometimes they also held the crystals used for divining. 787
It was their function to foresee the coming of rain and to announce when it might be expected. They walked up and down, holding their eagle plumes to catch the breeze. The liquor maker sometimes addressed them during the singing, to make sure that they were helping with the rainmaking, not mysteriously hindering.

THE LIQUOR MAKER TO THE SHAMAN DURING THE SINGING

26. Now it happened that I desired something. Then you will help [539]x
me. That it may happen, that which we have planned, to pull down the damp wind and pull down the clouds. They will wet the ground, and in it we shall plant.

Therewith we shall feed our children. Our friends who come from afar we shall feed therewith. Therewith we shall feel happy. Therewith we shall be alert. Therewith all shall be well.(3)

In former days the shamans often performed rain magic at this 796x
time. Tradition says that they would walk to the string of eagle 789

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mony the notched stick must not be scraped with another stick, but with the foreleg of the deer.

Dancers were two boys and two girls (representing the children once sacrificed at this village to prevent a flood). Their bodies were painted red, with white spots to represent corn. Some informants said the faces were half yellow and half white as the representatives of these children were painted at the prayer-stick festival. Boys carried an arrow over the right shoulder, girls an ear of corn in each hand.

The few songs obtained deal with the dance itself.

13. The feast, the feast!
It begins and goes forward.(27)

14. What man is it
Stooping here? [over dead deer]
Oh, it is hawk meeter man
Here stooping.(12)

What man is it
Who has killed the deer?
Oh, it is the wind man; the deer he has killed!
Yonder he struggles to carry it on his head.(27)

15. Do you see, yonder coming toward us
The tail of the black deer?(27)

Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing, walking yonder on the mountains
It nearly fell!(12)

At Pisinimo in the south the *maam* sib is very important, and various features of the ceremony hinge on the contrast of *maam* and *ʔapap* or, perhaps, since the other clans are never mentioned, of their respective moieties, Buzzard and Coyote.

Here no speeches were remembered for the announcement or for butchering the deer. It was killed with arrows in the usual way but a *maam* man must bring home the meat and an *ʔapap* the tail. Before the feast, the village elders brought the ceremonial basket from its hiding place in the desert and placed it to the east of the

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dance ground, but not near enough to be seen or touched, that its power might not be injured. In a line between the basket and the council house they placed, first a tuft of eagle down, then the branch of cholla which had been waved over the deer meat, and finally an ironwood stake which was to be pounded into the ground, thus crushing down sickness and misfortune.(1)

Before the ceremony began, two shamans, one from each moiety, took stone axes and pounded the ironwood stake until it was invisible. Then they collected evil with the cholla branch and burned it.

There were two boy dancers and two girls from each moiety, chosen from all the country around for their long hair. They were painted in the council house by two men, one from each moiety. All had their bodies covered with dots to represent corn kernels, but the Buzzards had red bodies with white dots, since "the buzzards have red flesh and hearts," while the Coyotes had white bodies with red dots. On the crown of the head they had an eagle feather: a down feather for the girls, wing feather for boys.

The dance was held at night. After sunset the dancers emerged from the ceremonial house in single file, boys and girls alternating, with a *maam* boy leading. As they emerged, all the *maam* dancers turned to the south, the *dapap* to the north. They arranged themselves in one long line running north and south.

The singers started a song, and when it was nearly ended the *maam* dancer at the south started it again. When he had nearly finished, the *dapap* at the north took it up and finished. Then a new song was started, and the dancing began.

Each song was sung four times: twice while the dancers stepped sidewise, twice while they flexed their knees in position. Toward morning the songs changed, and the dancers began to circle counterclockwise. With the dawn song the dancers suddenly ran about a hundred feet to the east. There they danced during the singing of three songs, and after the last song they ran back into the council house.

Most of the songs are ancient ones, relating to the origin myth, the local version of which was once recited at the ceremony, but is now forgotten.

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When the dance was over, the elders gathered up the deer bones, the deer tail, and the scraping sticks. They passed the deer tail around the ceremonial basket, which was then taken to its hiding place in the desert. The deer bones and the scraping sticks were laid beside it. The eagle down which the dancers had worn on their heads was also put inside the basket.(1)

At the Mexican village (of Quitovaca) the dance is still performed every August, ten days before the prayer-stick ceremony. There are no speeches, and the deer is not strangled; but there is an elaborate dance with meat hung on a pole, after the manner of the Tarahumara, farther south.[10]

The dance takes place in the daytime, the dancers being twenty girls and twenty boys, with no clan restrictions. The boys' bodies are painted with horizontal lines in white, and the girls' with white splashes. The girls and unmarried men carry nothing in their hands, while the married men have feathered arrows, with which to "beckon the clouds." The line faces east, with married men at the south end, single at the north. The movements are like those at Pisinimo. To the east of the dancers is a pole on which the deer meat is tied in sacks, and when the dancers circle, it is around this pole. Only a few scattered songs were obtained.

30. The emergents, our kinsmen,
The emergents, our kinsmen,
The emergents, our kinsmen,
They have just come forth!(20)Ed.7.

31. The maaw clan,
The maaw clan
Here came forth;
From this reddish earth
Came forth.(20)

32. Am I not the cleansing dance?
Am I not the cleansing dance?
This land is covered with green.(20)

33. The wind blows:
Widely it seems to spread.

[10] Bennett and Bugg, p. 279.

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or three times. After the men's race there might be a woman's game of double ball and a woman's race.

The parties to the meet were not single villages, but village units consisting of a parent village with all its daughters and its "wells." Two such units might have a standing contest which carried on for years, each challenging alternately. But occasionally several units joined together to challenge another group: two whole dialect divisions might find themselves arrayed on opposite sides, or one division against the Pima.

Plans were made at the beginning of the summer, when the people assembled at the "field" village before they separated. Then, if there were no regular contest in progress, the runners or their families suggested to the game leader that they felt ready for a meet. The game leader presented the matter to the village council, who, perhaps, tested the runners to make up their minds and then decided whom they would challenge and what the race should be. Then the game leader paid a formal call on the game leader of the opposite side to convey the challenge and settle details.

The runners practiced all summer under the supervision of the game leader or some trainer chosen by him. There was no pay for such work, since the trainer was helping to win for his village and would share in its betting gains. The village elders, all of whom were vitally interested in the outcome, frequently advised and encouraged the runners.

THE SKIPPING DANCE

Beside training its athletes, the village prepared a musical performance to be presented to its opponents. Of these performances, the most elaborate was the skipping dance (*tcĭrkona*). The word means a motion exactly like that of children skipping along a sidewalk. But the performance was not merely a dance; it was a rudimentary form of opera. Some singer dreamed a series of songs, referring to a visionary experience of his own. Then he trained a number of girls and boys to perform dance evolutions, carrying effigies which referred to his dream. Records tell of singers who were famous for wind songs, ocean songs, cloud songs, crane songs.

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There were only a few such singers in the country, and the challenging village might have to send for one from some distance. He worked without pay, other than his food and the fame he received. He selected a number of boys and girls who had agile bodies and the great desideratum, long glossy hair. These he trained in the dance maneuvers, and meantime, the older men learned his songs and made the effigies under his direction. Often he required elaborate representations, which might take months to produce. Reports mention cranes made of raw cotton or smaller birds of painted wood mounted on sticks which could be waved as though the birds were flying. Sometimes there were rainbows of painted buckskin, cloud symbols of cotton, and flowers of wood or vegetable matter. The men of the village met frequently to sing songs which would give their side good luck in running. Toward the end of the practice time they sang every night. One or more shamans sat with them to "see" whether their opponents were working any evil spells and also to work spells on their own behalf.

Ten days before the final event a bundle of sticks was sent by messenger to the opponents. On the tenth day the challengers started, men, women, and children, taking their effigies, dance costumes, and all the property they could afford to bet on the game. They planned to arrive at their opponent's village on the day before the games and to camp outside it. From this final camping place they sent into the village two messengers in war array. All accounts heard assumed the use of the horse and of the lance, and even called this formal challenge by a Hispanicized term which sounds like "harlequinade." [1]

The messengers had their faces painted black, as did warriors and the announcers for the drinking ceremony. "Black means madness or dizziness."(9) One was on horseback, carrying a lance, his other clothing being the most elaborate he had. The other, also with black face, was on foot. They presented themselves at the race track, where the man on horseback stood up in his stirrups and delivered his message. The villagers, who had gathered to receive

[1] Although the challenge was in the form of play, it seems probable that it symbolized the real hostility and fear once felt by the contesting groups. If they belonged to different dialect divisions, this might be the only occasion when they met, and they surrounded it with formalities.

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him, pelted him with dried squash stems, which have a sharp calyx. Then they chased both messengers out of the village. Later another messenger was sent, his face being black only from the eyes down. He viewed the race track to see that it was not bewitched, and he, also, was chased out of the village. After this the challengers entered, singing and dancing.[2] The hosts, after the entertainment, gave them food.

The Papago villagers might chase the messengers almost back to the camp of the challengers. That night the women of the challenged village came out to sing for the challengers and to make them welcome. They sang "any songs they could remember," but as lively ones as possible.

SONGS BY WOMEN OF THE CHALLENGED VILLAGE

1. I tied up the wind;
   Far yonder I tied it up.
   On Toad Mountain I sat tying it.
   There, before me, the mountains stood,
   With haze on their summits.(9)

2. Under Baboquiviri
   I lay down to sleep.
   Something frightened me.
   Alarmed, I jumped up,
   Looking in all directions.(9)

Before dawn the dancers from the visiting village painted their bodies and made ready the dance paraphernalia. Then, with blackface messengers at their head and the dancers following, the whole

[2] Santaren, a Jesuit missionary, gives similar details in connection with a challenge to pelota among the Acaxee, about 1600. The contest, in this case, was held on the ball ground of the challenging village. For four nights previously, there was singing which appears to have been a song cycle. It was started each night by two armed warriors who appeared on the walls of the ball court and issued a summons. The people then entered, singing and dancing. On the day of play, these warriors mounted the walls and the villagers entered as usual. "As they were about to dance, the visitors came in from one side, dressed and armed as for battle and began to shoot blunt arrows at the two warriors on the walls. The warriors tried to avoid these or ward them off with their shields but they were forced shortly to withdraw and were followed by the dancers, the visitors left in possession of the ground." (Beals, 1933, p. 15.) In both cases it is the challenged side which finally holds the field, though in the Papago case this is the host village, in the Acaxee case, the guest village.

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village marched singing into the camp of their opponents. They went straight to the dance ground, which they circled once counterclockwise, shouting. Then they took their places on the side of the plaza, which corresponded to the direction from which they had come, while their hosts sat at the opposite side.

Before the actual skipping dance there was a preliminary performance called *td'iwuñi* (jumping out), a ceremonial of challenge. The performer was a man called *kúata'k* (ant). The right half of his face was painted red, and the left black, while his arms and legs were red with white spots representing seeds. He wore a short kilt and carried a basket drum. In each hand he also carried an eagle wing-feather.

This man rushed in from the direction from which the challengers had come and hurled down his basket drum. Four singers appeared. One thumped the drum violently; and the other sang, while the "ant" stood in front of them, waving his feathers. After the song, the performers leaped up and rushed out, shouting. Four men, waiting with a blanket, received the "ant" into it, so that he seemed to disappear. Thus, he was escorted to the next point on the compass, in a counterclockwise direction, when he and the singers rushed in again, and the performance was repeated. This they did for all four points of the compass.

A more recent version of this prelude calls the performer merely "he who jumps out" and states that his face and body are painted white. He dances, accompanied by singers with one basket drum and four rattles. The song is sung four times at each point of the compass: twice tapping the basket, with rattles horizontal; twice scraping, with rattles vertical.

JUMPING OUT SONG

3. Longing to see the world,
Far, far yonder did I run.
Over there at the fields of the Hollow Place,
Far over there, did I rush out.(26)

The song was sung at the Hollow Place (San Xavier), but any other name might be inserted.

After this preliminary ceremony, the game leaders of the two

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After this preliminary ceremony, the game leaders of the two 535
sides made speeches. These were in such ancient language that 537
they were untranslatable, but the general meaning was said to be 198
as follows: 539x

Game leader for the challengers.

"Hail, friend!
Thus are my doings. Here I arrive.
We shall see the result."

Game leader of the challenged village.

"Hail, friend! Thus it has happened.
You have arrived here. You will look on my field,
Covered with drought. You will look on it.
We shall see what will be."(26)

Then the musicians, with scraping sticks and baskets, took their 535
places, and the skipping dance began. The dancers were generally ten boys and ten girls. The boys wore kilts, and the girls, the usual wrap-around skirt. They were barefoot, with their long hair flowing and with their faces and bodies painted in any way dictated by the dream of the song composer. He might decide on symbols never used before, or he might demand elaborate pictorial representations of birds and corn.

The regular formation for the skipping dance was a file of couples—boys on the right, girls on the left. They went around the dance place counterclockwise, alternately walking and skipping, in conformity with the music. This had two phases, one known as "they hold in," and one as "they give out." We may call them for brevity, the strong phase and the weak phase. In the weak phase, which always came first, the basket drums were tapped and the dancers walked, holding their symbols low. In the strong phase, the drums were scraped and symbols held with both hands above the head. It was in the strong phase that the composer introduced any mimetic movements which his dream dictated. There were eight songs, each sung eight times or sometimes sixteen.

The dance described below is the last which was given by the Indians on their own initiative, though recently they have revived [541]
it under White auspices and with an entrance fee. The one described was given in 1927, when the northern villages "sang for"

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San Xavier, "the Hollow Place." The composer's dream had concerned the morning star who visited him in the form of a woman. The dancers carried effigies of the things she had shown him: white cranes, flying over from the Pacific coast, and rainbows. The cranes were life size, made of raw cotton on a framework of twigs, with bills and feet painted yellow. The rainbows were made of arches of ocotillo withes, three feet wide at the base. Over the arch was stretched a half disk of muslin on which was painted the rainbow. Black streaks across the base of the arch represented rain.

The girl dancers wore white, the color of the cranes, but a cotton dress substituted for the single wrapped skirt of older days. The boys wore women's skirts, substituted for the old short kilt. All had headdresses representing clouds. These were made of a helmet-shaped framework of bent sticks covered with raw cotton. One girl, who represented the morning star, had a small circular mirror attached to the front of her headdress. This, in former times, would have been abalone shell.

SONGS FOR THE SKIPPING DANCE, 1927(2)

The file of couples proceeds in a circle, first walking, then skipping.

4. From the west they run
To sing for us.
There I stand and see
That it is good.
Yonder I see them run,
Holding the rainbows high.

5. Crane birds!
Side by side, in a row!
Under you I stand, and look.
You go a little way and spread out.
Behind you it is raining.

At the third line, the couples spread out in a row and skip forward, then running back to the starting point, where they repeat the maneuver.

6. There, indeed, I stand
And toward the west stretch out my hands.
The mist I summon.
It comes. The earth dissolves.

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Then, as I walk, I sink down deep (in the moist earth); 539X
I stand in the midst of the land. 535●
I think it good.

From the fifth line on, the dancers raise their feet as though walking heavily in mud.

7. In the night
The rain comes down.
Yonder, at the edge of the earth,
There is a sound like cracking.
There is a sound like falling.
Down yonder, it goes on slowly rumbling.
It goes on shaking.

Couples skip in file, raising fetishes.

8. The fields of the Hollow Place
Lie in hollow land.
There came [a village] and sang for them.
Beside [the dancers] I run,
Holding out my hands.
We take our gifts, clutch them and run.

At the word "take," the dancers hold their symbols with the left hand and, with the right, make motions of catching gifts thrown to them.

9. Who is the woman who will lead me?
And where will you lead me?
Morning star woman brings me forward.
When I, surprised, have seen her,
My heart is deeply stirred.
This, her glance, shines greatly over the earth.

During the weak phase, Morning Star walks ahead of the file; at the strong phase, she stands aside, dancing, while the others pass her.

10. The mist rises
And lies in this direction.
It lies at the base of the mountains;
It lies deep under them.
Thither I came.
It caught me.
And fine rain sifted over me.
The earth grew very green.

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11. Then we, having sung,
Go back whence we came.
Watch! It will not be long
Till the earth grows very green.

During the last two repetitions of the song, the dancers arrange themselves side by side and still skipping, they move off the dance ground. When they pass the singers, they break into a run, which they keep up until they reach their own camp.

Everyone in the host village gathered to watch the skipping dance, and anyone who wished might leave the crowd and skip by the side of some favored visitor. As a rule, only old women had the boldness to do this. The act was considered an honor to the visitor, and his relatives generally met them as they returned, breathless, and presented some small gift, such as a basket or a headband. Song number eight refers to this practice.

The performance was in the nature of an elaborate rain charm, for the benefit of the host village. The name of the village was always mentioned, and the very pronouncing of it in such a connection was a guarantee of blessing. At one of the recent paid performances the number of repetitions of the songs was cut down, lest the White audience be bored. The result was "only a little shower, just over the Hollow Place and nowhere else. If the dance had been properly done, we should all have had rain."

For the blessing thus brought to their village, the hosts were prepared to pay. They had held a meeting beforehand and decided on the contribution to be made by each.[2] Such a contribution was considered a public duty, and it also assured special prosperity to him who made it. Moreover, next year, when his village was in turn the challenger, he would receive equal value and, if his host could afford it, even more. The payment was an investment on his own behalf and that of his village. But it was often made in a burlesque form, calculated to add to the general merriment.

The hostesses brought cooked food to the dance ground, and sometimes threw it to the dancers during their performance. They might also chase them, as they ran for camp, hurling food at them. The dancers washed off their paint and returned to the plaza, where

[2] Underhill, 1939, pp. 108–10.

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796 Archie ceremonial house, under whose shade chosen boys and girls danced in position all day, doing honor to the local shrine.

These dancers may be described first, since they served as the focal point for all the processions. They represent the "flood children" described on pages 68–69 and thought to be eternally alive, underground, guarding the interests of their home region. For the impersonation there were chosen from each moiety a boy and a girl, distinguished for glossy long hair and holding their positions till youth was past. They are called *hákiwatam,* which may mean "parched-corn people," and they will be spoken of here as the corn dancers. The two boys painted the upper body black on the right side, brown on the left, with legs brown and face yellow, while the girls had both arms and legs brown and face yellow. The boys wore kilts and had a bow in the right hand and an arrow in the left, while the girls wore short dresses and carried an ear of corn in each hand.

The four "flood children" remained all day under the shelter outside the Archie ceremonial house, neither leaving their places nor tasting more than a sup of corn-meal gruel. At each side of them stood a corn-meal sprinkler, who functioned specially for them, and at their left sat an old man known as their helper, who rose and held the arms of the dancers when they grew tired. Behind them was their orchestra, with scraping sticks and basket drums. Their musicians had their hands whitened with chalk and their faces painted black above the nostrils and white below.

796 533 Their songs had the same introduction as the songs for growth and a like content, but the final refrain, instead of *hâhina,* is usually *dnastonga.* Neither is translatable, but the latter syllables seem to set a song apart for this special festival. As usual with all scraping-stick songs, the music was in two sections: a "weak" section, when the sticks were tapped upon the drums, and a "strong," when they were scraped along the notched sticks. During the weak section the dancers held their fetishes low and flexed their [533] knees; for the strong one, they raised the fetishes and stamped with the right foot. This performance continued quite without regard to the singing of the village processions. Though the latter paused before the corn dancers and sang their songs, appar-

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727 singing, and the man could not retrieve his property until he had paid the singer. Near the village the old women met the party. According to some informants there was one who had the hereditary right to take the trophy pole and dance with it(26). Others say that the old women fought for the privilege(9). The one who took the pole danced with it ahead of the party, singing a scalp song.

x [539]

1. Here I stand;
I sing for the scalp.
Come and see, O women!

Here the ends of my shaman's plumes
Give light.(26)

The last two lines refer to some dream of the dancer.

The party, with all the village, proceeded to the ceremonial house, where they gave a long recital of their exploits. The pole was set up on the dance ground. Then a meeting was held and arrangements were made for the victory dance, which would take place when the sixteen days of the warrior's purification were over. All related villages were invited, and if there were several trophies, a pole with some of these attached was sent as a token.

The game leader proposed a race challenge to neighboring villages, and the people discussed sending for men or women known to be expert at the *kápetua*, or dramatic war dance,[8] performed on the night of the celebration. The dancers were often brought from a great distance, and the villages joined in providing them. Relatives of the enemy slayers were expected to pay the largest amount(9). Each village which had joined the war party held its own victory dance, providing some of its men were enemy slayers. If not, its members visited the dance of a neighboring village.

727 The trophies were left on the pole for the ensuing sixteen days.
● 635 No one was allowed to touch them, but "no one wanted to. They were too dangerous." These sixteen days were the period of the warriors' purification and, while they lasted, the villagers danced nightly around the pole. They moved in a circle, counterclock-

[8] Russell speaks of a Pima "dramatic war dance" in the middle of the circle of dancing people (Russell, p. 205).

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wise, with hands clasped and fingers interlacing, as for the rain dance(19). Some describe them as leaping forward, all together, and then leaping back. The name of this circle dance was *kúihin* (leaping).[9]

The song cycle for this dance, more nearly intact than most of the others recorded, referred to the incident in I'itoi's campaign when Buzzard was captured and forced to dance around his own scalp.[10] The songs refer to Buzzard and his plight, but they also describe realistically the dance ground and the tiny incidents such as the crying of the babies and I'itoi's directions for nursing them, a novel interpolation in a war ceremony.

Some of the songs were in such archaic language that the singer himself had no idea of their meaning. He insisted that it was not a foreign tongue, merely the language of the "old people." The standard refrain *tángwi* [11] is one of these untranslatable words. So is *limhu*, mentioned by Miss Densmore as the name for all these songs.[12] The introduction is always "He, he!" uttered at the top of the singer's lungs.

SCALP SONGS(9)

2. He, he!
In a circle join and sing;
Here we sing.
Jump and sing! Jump and sing!
Look up here!
Look up here!
Look up here!

3. He, he!
Great doings!
We have not killed your husband,
He is not staggering;
Tángwi!

[9] Russell (pp. 205-6) speaks of the Pima as celebrating victory by running and riding horses in concentric circles moving in opposite directions.

[10] See p. 12.

[11] It will be noticed that *tángwi* does not occur at the end of every song as the informant at first said it should. This may be due to forgetfulness on the singer's part, since he had not heard the songs since his childhood. The songs were put down as he sang them and may furnish some indication of how changes occur.

[12] Densmore, p. 184.

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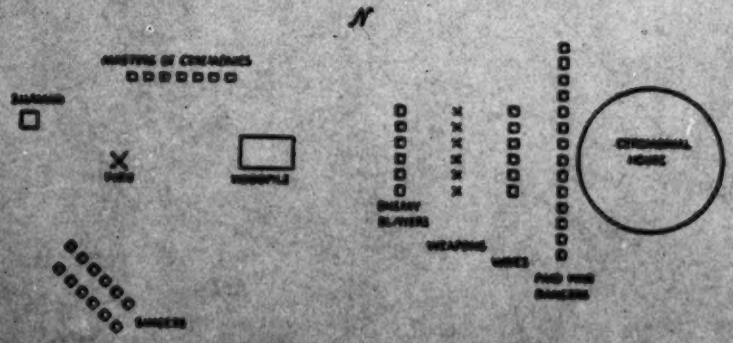
717 The dance around the pole took place every night, just after sunset. Meanwhile preparations were going on for the victory celebration, to be held on the sixteenth night. Women relatives of the enemy slayers brought enormous piles of wood, to be used for the fire and cooked quantities of food to be offered to visitors. Men relatives caught the horses, which they intended to give as presents to the dancers.

At sunset the people assembled for the last scalp dance, and when this was over the enemy slayers were brought to their position on the dance ground. They were seated east of the fire, behind them their wives, and farther back, the war dancers. There were one or more masters of ceremony, who were, according to one informant, the guardians of the enemy slayers. Ten former enemy slayers acted as singers and sat south of the dance ground. They used no instrument: "They did so once, and an enemy slayer died the next year."

ARRANGEMENT AT THE VICTORY DANCE (KOMARIK)

717 To their singing was performed the dramatic war dance, *ka-*
● 53 *Spetua*, whose purpose was to purify the weapons of the warriors. The warriors themselves, being still ritually unclean, could have no part in it, but they and their families paid the dancers. These were active young men and women who had been sent for because of their skill or had volunteered from the audience. It was a favorite pastime of the youth of both sexes to practice and hold



themselves in readiness for this dance. With a man leading and several other men and women behind him, they gave a vivid imi-

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tation of battle, jumping forward and backward and brandishing shields and clubs belonging to the warriors. Any member of the audience might join them. When no dancers had been engaged, members of the audience, even women, volunteered to lead the dance. They were rewarded by the relatives of the enemy slayers, who put into their hands at the end of the dance a bit of manure indicating whether they were to receive a horse or a cow. In poor years the compensation might be only a basket.

The songs sung for the war dance are said to have been sung by Elder Brother on his campaign or when he had killed the monster eagle. Others might be dreamed and presented new on the occasion. Each song was sung four times. The dancers walked during the first two repetitions and leaped during the second two.

WAR DANCE SONGS

18. At the foot of the east I got drunk;
At the foot of the east I got drunk,
My younger brothers!
The white wind met me.
It will drive me mad.(27)

19. Yonder a man runs shouting, saying:
"Seclude [my family]," saying,
The enemy slayer is saying,
"Here long since has my shield been painted."(27)

20. Enemy slayer,
Your wife is running toward you.
Her hair is cut [in mourning];
Every morning she weeps.(27)

21. Prisoner children [the scalps],
I have adopted you.
Here all about me
Are standing eagle feathers.(27)

When someone is coming, a bear it is said, always holds his paw out straight, then rubs his body.

22. The little black bear!
'Tis on the edge of Crow Mountain he sits;
Toward the sun he is stretching out his paw.
"With that my heart I rub."(27)

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endurance. She learned no ritual, and instead of sitting and awaiting a dream, she was expected to work particularly hard. Dreams were unnecessary, since her future career as a bearer of children was already settled and special power would come into her life only when it was obtained by her husband and automatically extended to her.

But it was very important that her character should be set on lines of virtue and industry. The Papago shared the belief common in the area that first menstruation is a time of special sensitivity, when tendencies are established for all time. Therefore, during these four days it was essential that the girl rise early and fetch quantities of wood and water as she would need to do in later life. She must grind corn, work at basketry, and, in fact, not allow herself an idle moment. The only reference to dreaming during this period is the statement: "If she worked hard, the *kots* (a magic serpent) would come and teach her basketry designs."(26)

The family selected some female relative, on either side, who was noted for her industry to be the girl's instructress. This cicerone cared for her charge in the segregation hut for four days, but must continue to exercise her in habits of industry "until the moon came round to where it was before." Sometimes they remained in the hut for this probationary period, or they might go to the home of the instructress or of the girl. At the end of this month came a second four days of seclusion and then a ceremony with a shaman, entirely similar to the christening of a baby and the purification of a mother after childbirth.

During the month of partial segregation a dance[2] was held to help in purifying the girl and to make her "breathe out the danger." This ceremonial, the *wuáka,* was one of the oldest Papago institutions. Its origin is not even described in the myths, for it "was there from the beginning." It was at this dance that Elder Brother made himself so obnoxious that the people decided to kill him. It was a time of gaiety and of permissible license. Anyone, but particularly the song leader, had a perfect right to sexual liberties. The rituals even mention "songs with which to approach a maiden at her puberty dance."

[2] Russell (pp. 182–85) describes a similar girl's puberty dance for the Pima.

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In the southern part of the reservation the dance lasted four nights(29); in the northern part, a whole month. It was given wherever the family happened to be, either in camp or in a permanent village. "We used to have good times in cactus camp," one informant said, "because somebody would be sure to reach puberty, and then we would dance all the time."(26)

The length of the time of dancing depended on the wealth of the girl's parents, since they must give a meal to the dancers every night. Poor people might omit the dance entirely, trusting to purification by the shaman to relieve the girl from danger. People who were well supplied sent word to neighboring villages and camps as soon as the girl's four-day seclusion was over, and crowds arrived every night to join in the gaiety.

There were several men in any village who knew the appropriate songs. These they might have dreamed during some period of purification, or they might have learned them from others. The position of song leader for this dance was a popular one, since the leader danced next to the maiden. He and other men dancers received no pay except a meal at midnight. Their enjoyment of the dance came from the license permitted. The young girl dancers received gifts from the maiden, "because they stayed up all night with her." If the dance lasted a month, she generally, when it ended, had disposed of all her clothes and ornaments except what she wore.

In this dance men and women stood side by side in two lines which faced each other. They placed their arms over each other's shoulders and pulled their blankets across in front of them to make an unbroken covering for the whole line. This was the only dance where such close contact was permitted.

At the end of one line danced the song leader, with the maiden at his left and the rattle in his right hand. His wife danced opposite. The lines walked back and forth toward each other singing, for there was no choir on this occasion. After each four songs they rested, though the girl herself was not supposed to sit down. Her family provided a nonintoxicating drink of cactus juice or some brew of berries and fruit. For the meal at midnight they might kill a deer or provide a stew of rabbits, beans, and corn.

If the dance lasted a month, more than one song leader had to

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881 be called in. Men who heard of the performance often came from
● 538 great distances. There was a standard technique for use of the
538 rattle. Before midnight it was shaken with a circular motion to the right; after midnight it was shaken vertically. Puberty songs often did not concern the girl, but referred to any dreams of the composer. There was a standard ending, *mim*, or *mum* which sounds like a prolongation of the suffix for continued action.

881 Songs were recorded from two informants, both official singers
539 for the dance. The series of each has been grouped separately.

FIRST SERIES(16)[2]

1. The sun is setting;
   Here I stand and begin to sing.
   A cloud stands over the segregation hut
   In front of Reed Mountain.
   All the clouds I am taking.

2. Poor little maiden!
   In the evening you will clasp hands.
   In the evening I arrive and hasten hither.
   Hither I hasten and sing;
   Songs follow each other in order.

3. Poor little maiden!
   Four nights you will sing.
   I stand, and songs begin.
   Come, run hither! come, run hither!
   Songs begin!

4. Evening is falling.
   At evening I run.
   Far, far, to Baboquiviri
   I run and run back.

5. Lo, it is the duck children!
   In the water they swim.
   Thither I run and hear them talking.
   The water is murmuring.

[2] Russell (p. 330) quotes one song as belonging definitely to wo'ok (Papago, wuuk) girl's puberty. A number of others, variously classified, are in the style of the Papago songs, with their mention of wind, butterflies, etc. See Russell, pp. 292, 295–97, 309, 313, 322.

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rested: the dancers flexed their knees, with fetishes low, and the clown walked.

The general plan of the dance was a circling and stamping around each effigy in succession. The dancers circled it during the first two songs, the girls moving clockwise, the boys in a circle outside them, counterclockwise. Then they stood around it, their movements violent or subdued according to the music. When the time for violent movements arrived at the effigy of Superstition Mountain, the boy dancers raised it as the songs of the shaman raised it during the legendary flood. At the earth navel effigy they raised the thatched house and revolved it as the earth was declared to revolve in the song.

SONGS OF THE CEREMONY FOR POWER (13)

1. The maidens of old time
Here are lying.
The corn they cause to stand [above them].
Then we, having seen,
Thither run.

Led by the clown, the boys and girls emerge from the council house in couples and circle the effigy of the Children's Shrine.

2. Here the children's grave
Now is made.
On it pleasant things
Will be done.
Cloudlike, the children of old time
Will run out.

3. Eagle feathers we pull out;
Eagle headdresses we erect.
Eagle down we pull out;
Feather headdresses we erect.

4. Did not you treat me ill?
There in the water
Between four mountains
You placed me.

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kitchen. Several beeves are consumed on such an occasion, and a hundredweight of bread. After dark there may be a service in the church led by the woman officiant, and here the scene is outstandingly Mexican. Women crowd in and kneel in the tiny space, while the men stand outside.

After the service, the whole congregation forms a procession, like that to be seen in so many Mexican towns. The head man carries the saint's image, and perhaps two acolytes hold an arch of paper flowers over his head. Behind him comes an orchestra of guitar and two violins, which may cost the church owners twenty-five dollars a night. Then comes the congregation, men first, women following. They march to the cross, which the head man circles, while the followers turn about face, and then they return to the church where all leave contributions in the clay bank on the altar.

After this, comes the dancing. The orchestra takes its place in a booth, and the men make a fire if the night is cold. Old people, young people, and children dance a sort of polka. The Papago know that this dance was brought from Mexico, but they still observe some of their own rules. Girls dance with girls and boys with boys. Respectable women dance only with their husbands. The dance ground contains as many small children as adults.

In the dark, at the outskirts of the dance ground, drinking goes on. So does lovemaking. Both these relaxations were a part of the old rainmaking ceremony, and a few years ago the drink served at church fiestas was the native cactus beer. At present it is hard liquor brought in by bootleggers, and drunkenness is sometimes extreme. This change is hard to assess exactly, for the very same thing has gone on in Mexico. Many Sonora Indians, like the Papago, practiced ceremonial drinking and have now transferred the custom to Christian feasts. The Papago may have copied their Mexican neighbors, or the change to a near orgy may have been a parallel development with all. Certainly when people begin to revive on Sunday afternoon (the dancing goes on throughout Saturday night), there are usually some serious injuries to be found and occasionally a death.

These unaffiliated churches may have been developing at the

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horned creature they represent looks like no animal in particular 746*
and is said to be the devil. The rest of the costume consists of 179
old, ragged clothing, though formerly the impersonator went
naked. Youths who volunteer for this service expect to gain good [777]
fortune, like other ceremonial performers.

The devils appear on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of Holy Week. During these days everyone guards his yard enclosure with a cross, because anything not so protected may be appropriated by the devils. "This is to teach the people how to guard against bad people." The devils come around, gesturing and scaring the children and will take anything outside the yard. The remedy is to make the sign of the cross; then the devil will run away. If he has taken anything, one may chase him with a crucifix or make him an offering of a cigarette(!); then he will drop the object. The devils are particularly active on Good Friday night. On Saturday morning, everything that they have taken is piled up in front of the church. The people come to claim their property and pay a cigarette or five or ten cents. Otherwise everything is burned.

After the redemption of property, the devils are whipped with 785
branches of *Encelia farinosa*. This, when they were naked, was a 179
serious affair and meant really to hurt. There is a whipper for each devil, chosen by the old man in charge of the arrangements. The devils do not resist, but come docilely and kneel. Just before the whipping the people throw flowers on the devils. "These are from Santa Maria Guadalupe," they say. The reason is that "once when Guadalupe was on this earth, a man threw flowers on her, asking for rain. You can see the flowers on her robe now, although some call them stars." Throwing flowers has since been [788]
recognized as a way to ask for rain from the Christian supernaturals. After being whipped, the devils remove their masks and throw them on the fire, where the booty is being burned. They say: "Now I shall feel happy. I shall relinquish my work. I shall continue four years, then I shall finish. Whoever is a friend to me will assume this duty and will follow as I did."

After the devils have been disposed of, there is social dancing 536
in couples, in the Mexican style. At intervals a "pascol" dancer, 179

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like those seen among the Yaqui, performs his shuffling solo dance in bare feet, his calves wound with strings of cocoon rattles. Otherwise he wears his ordinary clothes. Few Papago know this dance, and the performer may be imported from the Yaqui settlement in Tucson or from Mexico.

No other Papago village performs this ceremony, which, says tradition, was brought by immigrant Papago from south of the border. However, Santa Rosa, in the north, echoes some elements of it. Here, on Saturday before Easter, the people gather at the Roman Catholic Church, but without a priest. They are laden with flowers, a custom unknown in Papago ceremony, but common in Mexico. They march to the outdoor cross, chanting and scattering the flowers. Then they meet in the church, where relatives present one another with baskets of food, particularly sweet cakes.

Another ceremony, containing more Papago elements is that given on Holy Cross Day at the little village of Santa Cruz (Papago, Mulberry Pond) in the Pisinimo group. Though Holy Cross Day is the fourth of May, one is tempted to connect this ceremony with the old cleansing dance held in November, especially elaborate at Pisinimo. The elements of the ceremony, it will be remembered, were the ritual killing of a deer and a dance around deer meat and garnered crops, after which the meat was eaten as a charm for health and luck.

At present, after mass a steer is blessed by the priest, then roped and killed in front of the church. Then the people, carrying several saints' pictures from the church, walk in procession to a stone cross a quarter of a mile away. The pilgrimage, conducted by the sacristan, with the people singing in Spanish, is in the style of the Spanish church ceremonies of two centuries ago. The progress is in seven stages, with seven halts, when the holy pictures are set down on a sheet spread by the acolytes, while all the people kneel and pray. When they reach the cross they are met by women with specially baked cakes in the shape of a cross. Everyone takes a cake and eats it for good luck, as they once ate corn and venison. Then they rise and walk back to the church, bonfires being fired on each side of the road as they pass.

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Other ceremonies celebrated with the co-operation of church authorities are St. John's Day, the Day of the Assumption, and All Souls' Day. The writer saw St. John's Day at Santa Rosa. The church was decorated with paper flowers, and on the evening of the day (arrangements could not be made for the evening before, which was the correct time) the women sang the Rosary. Then a hired orchestra of Papago, with violins and guitars, took their places outside the church. The boys and girls danced in couples, a Spanish form of fox trot, until well after sunrise the next morning. Then a "chicken pull" was held. This is the Spanish *corso de gallo*, in which a live cock is buried to its neck in the sand and horsemen, galloping past, lean over and try to pull it out.

The feast of the Assumption was very similar, but without the chicken pull. On that night women put up a canvas shelter outside the church and cooked a huge meal of beans, tortillas, and boiled meat. Inside the church the Rosary was sung and then the young people danced all night. There were some villages in which this dancing continued three days.

All Souls has versions varying from the completely Christian to those with decided Indian flavor. It should be mentioned that all Papago now have Christian burial. Perhaps because their own treatment of death was so unceremonious, they have found room for the funeral practices of the whites more easily than for other religious services. Whereas the corpse was once thrust into a crevice and sealed in with rocks or housed, seated, in a cabin of stone, it is now laid in a coffin and buried, facing the east. Whereas there was only a hasty farewell, with the adjuration not to return, there are now prayers by a clergyman or at least a layman.

But the custom of placing gifts with the dead persists, or did in 1932. Expensive clothes and saddles are often bought, and the grave may be lavishly stocked with goods and food. Some families keep dishes at a grave from year to year, and one dish, seen by the writer was in the ancient ceremonial duck form. On All Souls' night a feast for the dead is set out in many a house, but the family does not share it with the departed in Mexican style. Papago fear of the dead is too strong for that, so the living leave the house and spend the haunted hours in church.

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464 contacts of the southern villages made for more flexibility and disorganization than there was in the north.

CEREMONIAL PAYMENTS

431 796 The Papago had one ceremony which involved large payments between villages. Ostensibly they were for ceremonial services which brought blessing and rain but they performed, as well, two very practical functions. One was that the village making the payments could invest its harvest on a much wider scale than that permitted by family gifts and the other, that gift relationships were cemented with what might be called foreigners: the members of another village and even of another dialect group. The ceremony was the dance of greeting and blessing which preceded intervillage games.

431 526 796 [533 539] [577] Games were played between two village units or groups of units, the same opponents challenging each other alternately, year after year. The time chosen was autumn, when the crops were in and when there was not only leisure but goods for gifts and gambling. The challenging village always "sang for" its opponent, either a rudimentary operetta, in which costumed dancers performed to singing, or a series of songs which glorified the important residents of the host village. Songs of both kinds brought good luck which, according to Papago ideas of reciprocity, should be paid for.

431 796 When a village had been challenged and had paid it was etiquette for it to issue the challenge next year and be paid in turn. After that, either village was at liberty to pick out a new opponent but, as a rule, they continued together over a long period and established definite gift relationships. But occasionally, a village which had had a poor harvest would strike out in a new direction and sing for somebody "rich". Russell[1] mentions the Papago (probably the northern villages) singing regularly for the Pima, and some Papagos from Somerton (Sand Papagos!) came yearly in regalia, marched and danced with rattles for the Yuma.[2] But the wealthy agriculturists were too busy with their own affairs to need this form of exchange and the visits were seldom returned.

The visiting party arrived a day early, camped outside the host village and sent in a costumed messenger with a formal challenge to games. The messenger carried a bundle of sticks, each representing a household head in the visiting party, who would expect a gift. If the household head could not come, some younger male represented him, but gifts were made only to households, not individuals.

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[1] Russell p. 171. [2] Gifford, 1933, p. 262.

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treated like an uncle in the matter of gifts. There were no clan, moiety or kin restrictions on the guardian's appointment. Here was another expedient for establishing relationships of trust with non-relatives. 431 783 727

The sixteen days of retirement were succeeded by a public ceremony when the Enemy Slayer was purified by the singing of men who had been through the same experience. They formed a kind of unorganized priesthood and were not paid. But the Slayer's weapons and, according to some, the scalp also, were purified by a special dance, performed by people of another village. The *kapetua* (leaping dance) was a graphic representation of a man in battle, performed with the warrior's own weapons. Any agile young man familiar with war technique was eligible to do it and groups of them habitually practiced. Women might follow them, carrying weapons and imitating their movements. A victory in war was often followed by intervillage games in celebration but even if it was not the time for this, all neighboring villages were invited to the purification ceremony "because the warriors suffered for all". Among them might be several men prepared to do the leaping dance. Paying the dancers was the duty of the hero's family and particularly those who formed part of his geographic unit and would share his honors and good luck. But a scalp brought into the village gave it rain and any villager who helped in the payment for this would have specially good luck with his crops. [793] [535] [777]

One dance was performed for each Enemy Slayer, sometimes by the same performers, sometimes by different ones. After each dance the two leaders, who bore shield and club, should receive horses or cows (or a bit of manure representing them) while the others had lesser gifts. The hero's father and uncles should give the animals and any of them who could, provided the gift. "He didn't get anything back. Just good luck." 431 535 727 783

If the family could afford no animals, some one else would volunteer for the honor of the village, and probably be paid back in time by gifts from the family though the statement is that "he did not want anything. He did it for the village." It was at this time that the generous man got his reward "for if the hero's father had not been stingy, then everybody would help him make gifts "but otherwise, the provision would be meagre and the other villages would "talk about him and his son." This was disgrace. 431 727 783 [626]

The gifts collected were placed in two piles near the dance ground, one pile for men and one for women, and a man and woman of the hero's family were selected to distribute them. There follows a list from a ceremony at Knitatk, about 1860. The hero, in this case,

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881 leave her burden outside her father's house, but she must not go in. In the rest of her time she practised making basketry. Her instructress told her:

"Work hard. Practise running every day; you will need to run when the Apache come. When you go to sleep, tired, the *kots* (a magic serpent) will come and show you designs for basketry. If you are industrious, some day you will meet an old man (circumlocution for "some day you will marry a young man"; the informant said this expression was considered more modest). When you are married, do not interfere with your husband. Never object when he goes away. If you do not let him go he cannot hunt and you will have nothing to eat. You will have to go to your neighbors. They will feed you, but they will talk about you behind your back." (1)

The instructress continually urged the girl not to sleep at this time, or she would be sleepy all her life; not to be idle, or she would be so always. During her four days, other young girls might visit her at the hut, whether or not they had menstruated. Non-menstruating women might come but menstruants must not. That would be too "strong". None of the visitors must touch her.

After four days the girl was given a bath in water as cold as possible and for this purpose, a new porous jar was made, as it was for the warrior during his retreat. At dawn the girl knelt, facing the east, while the mother or instructress poured the water over her head, saying:

"Hail!
I shall pour this over you.
You will be one who endures cold.
You will think nothing of it."

Her extreme seclusion was now over. According to some, she might now go back to her father's house, though she must still refrain from salt and use the scratching stick. According to others, she remained at the menstruation hut for another four days. In either case, at the end of four days she had another bath.

881 Meantime the puberty dance had begun. In some villages it
● 535 lasted for a month, in others for four days. The period also depended on whether the family was in camp where they had little to feed the dancers, or in the summer village where there was plenty.

The father announced the girl's maturity and the whole village came to the house at sunset. They formed in two lines facing each other, composed of men and women alternately, their arms over each others' shoulders. Where they wore cotton blankets obtained from the Pimas, these were held in a line across the backs. At the

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end of one line danced the song leader, any man who knew the puberty cycle. He held a rattle in his right hand while his left arm was across the shoulders of the girl. His wife danced opposite.

The lines went with a running motion toward each other and then back wheeling a little so that they finally covered a complete circle. There was no fire: "We got warm dancing." They danced through the night and at midnight were given a meal of succotash by the girl's family. The girl was expected to dance all of every night, though the other dancers came and went. In the course of a month or even of a night, there might be several singers, as one man got tired and another took his place. At the end of the month the girl made presents to all her girl friends who had danced often and "gone without sleep" with her. One informant said that when her dance was over, she had nothing left. She had given her deerskin dress, all her beads, her pots, sleeping mat and baskets (27).

"I got so thin, so thin! We girls are all like that at our puberty time. Running all day with the carrying basket and no rest. Before dawn that woman who taught me would come and say, 'Get up. Get water, get wood. Do you want to be lazy all your life?' So then we would go running, running over the mountains. When we got home, I slept a little. It seemed I had hardly shut my eyes before they were telling me, 'The dancers are here. Go out and dance.' I did not want to dance. I used to, when I was a little girl and watched them. But now I only wanted to sleep. But my father would say, 'Here comes the singer. Better go out or he'll drag you out. He's mean.'"[1]

The puberty ceremony, according to the oldest informants, was a time for promiscuity, (26, 27) which apparently had the connotation of fertility magic. It is one of the practises connected, in the myths, with the first inhabitants of the land and the reason why Elder Brother, the creator, offended these first inhabitants, was that he, an accomplished singer for the ceremony, used his privileges with girls beyond all bounds.[2]

At the end of the dancing period, the girl was given another bath at dawn and then she went to the shaman for cleansing. The rite was similar to the cleansing after childbirth. The shaman drew a circle on the ground, within which the girl sat, at the east with her back to the rising sun. The shaman stood facing east and walked

[1] In this dancing ceremony there is no suggestion of the "baking" which occurs in nearby California. However, touwa, to reach puberty, and touyam, girl at puberty, come from the same root as touwa, to bake.

[2] Cf. the Yuman reason for killing the creator: that he had raped his daughter. Kroeber, 1925, p. 790.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

too, and said to them: "Now you'll be a good runner, a hunter, able to stand cold and hunger. A Killer!" Those are the things that come to us, the families of the powerful. 159x 727 783

The rest of our family were getting ready for the dance. All the old Enemy Slayers were going to sing for my father to take him back again when the four times four days were over. My grandmother boiled big pots of dried corn and dried squash and succotash, to give those singers food. [252] All my father's sisters and the wives of his brothers made tortillas. The young women of our family brought wood for the dance fire. My father's brothers counted how many cows and horses they could give to the dancers. Our family did not have much because our men were always fighting. They were brave.

At sunset, when the four times four days were over, the people came to the dance place. Then they brought my father and the Enemy Slayers and us, too. They did not take us to the fire. Far away in the cold they dug four little holes and there the Slayers sat, facing east. Behind them there were holes for their wives. They must sit up all night, straight and not move. They had stakes driven into the ground behind them so they could lean back a little when they were too tired. My grandmother sat with us children far away in the dark. 159x 727 783 635

The people went around the fire singing. [533]

Kill the Apache, kill the Apache!
Dry the skin, dry the skin!
Soften it, soften it!
Hang it up, hang it up!
A-a-a-a-a-a-h!
There are still some Apaches left.

I could not hear the songs that night when my father was a Slayer but I know them now, for I learn well. I learn everything that the men sing.

The people stopped going around, and a man came into the middle to dance the warrior's dance. Only a young man can do that dance. He holds the shield and a club, and first he leaps to one side and then to the other as though the enemy's arrows were flying at him. Then he leaps up and lets them pass under him. Behind him, other young men, or maybe women, if they are strong and wild, take bows and arrows and leap as he does. The singers sing for them.

Sitting with my back against the dawn [533]
I got drunk, my younger brothers.
I met the white wind and it drove me mad.

3. Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

Four young men danced. To each, one of my father's brothers came up and put a piece of manure into his hand. First it was from a cow and then another cow, and then a horse and another horse. That was what my family gave to men who leaped in the war dance. It made them (my family) poor.

Then the old warriors began to sing for the Slayers, because the Pleiades had come to the top of the sky and it was midnight. They sang very secret songs that had come to them when they themselves were purified. Then they lit a long cane cigarette, such as our people used to use, and went and blew the smoke over the new Slayers. They spoke to them as relatives, taking them back again. "Hail, my younger brother. Hail, my nephew. Thus I do to you. You will be like me. You will be a great Killer. You will always find the enemy. You will be hunger enduring, cold enduring, thirst enduring. Thus you will live well." I could not see all this. They made me stay in the dark with my grandmother. But my father told me afterward, for I am a woman to whom a man can tell solemn words and she will remember them well.

Then they took my father out in the dark before the morning came and bathed him again, and they bathed us, too. Then we were purified and we could have the Apache scalp in our family to work for us like a relative. All the time that my father was being purified a woman had been making a basket, the kind that we use only for scalps and other sacred things. My father's guardian had taken the Apache hair and made it into a little man. He could touch Apache hair because he was a Slayer and it would not make him sick.

That little man had a buckskin shirt with fringe, like an Apache, and a feather in its hair and little moccasins. The guardian brought it to my father in the basket. My father was not afraid of that enemy's hair. He said to it: "My child." Then he gave it to my mother and she took it in her arms and said: "My child." He gave it to my brothers and my sisters and me. We held it and said: "My younger brother." Then it was in our family and it would always help us. My father laid it in the basket and all around it he put eagle feathers which are powerful. He put in tobacco and he said: "This is your house, my child." Then he wrapped that basket in deerskins and hung it in the thatch and we had Power.

III

My younger brother was going to be a medicine man. We knew it from the time he was very little, because sometimes he would fall over as if he was dead. Sitting in the house with us, he would fall over. Or when he was

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

"Come out," said my father on that first night. "Now you must dance or the Leg will drag you out. He's mean."

I did not want to dance; I was sleepy and I had run so far. Always when I had heard the others singing those maiden songs, from far away, I had been wild to go. But now it was my turn and all I wanted to do was sleep. But Luis, the Leg, came into the house and took me by the arm. He always danced next to the maiden, with his arm over her shoulders and the rattle in his other hand. He and I were at one end of a long line of people and his wife at the end of a line opposite. There was first a boy and then a girl, all down the line, with their arms over each other's shoulder and the blankets held along at the back. I told you the boys always liked that dance.

The lines went to and fro, toward each other, and they kept wheeling a little, till at last they had made a circle.

On top of Baboquiviri Peak
There is a fire burning.
So near I came.
I saw it blow all over the ground
Shining.

On the flat land
There is a house of clouds.
There stand white butterfly wings (of clouds).
It pleased me. That was what I saw.

Those were the songs they sang, with the rattle going in the night. We had no fire; we kept warm dancing. After every four songs Luis stopped, because his voice was hoarse. Then he let me go, and we girls went and sat together while the men smoked. How dark and cold it was then, with only one ember to light their cigarettes!

There were girls who did not come to sit with us and boys who did not sit with the men. How dark it was! Some mothers went looking for their girls in the night and some did not.

At midnight my mother brought jars of succotash. She had been cooking all day for this dance, and every day after that she cooked and ground corn and baked bread in the ashes. Every morning we gave gifts to Luis and his wife. My cut-off hair and dried beans and cooked food and the hand woven cotton that I wore for a dress. And to the girl friends who danced beside me, I gave my beads and my baskets because these people had suffered and endured sleeplessness with us.

We stopped dancing in the dark of the morning and then my mother

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

The third brother was called Shining Evening and he was a man-woman. 159x 838
His parents suspected it when he was very young because he never wanted to play with boys, always with girls. So they thought they would test him. They built a little enclosure and in it they put a bow and arrow and some basketry materials. They told the boy to go in there and play, and when he was busy they set fire to the enclosure. They thought they would see which things he saved. Out he came, carrying the basketry materials. They tried the same thing again and again after that, and it was always the same. The man-woman was very pleasant, always laughing and talking, and a good worker. She was so strong! She did not get tired grinding corn as I did, so sometimes she did it for me. That was something my husband could never do even though he was kind. It would look too bad for a man to grind corn. I found the man-woman very convenient. [462]

I lived happily with those people and of course we never quarreled. 159x
Why should we do that? And strangely, soon after I had been married, I [593]
became dangerous again, for the first time since I had been danced. We 841
told the medicine man and he thought, perhaps, I should be danced again 535
and my husband, too. Who knows what danger there had been without our knowing it. So they danced us.

But this time it was different. I did not have to work hard because I had been through all that. I did not even have to sleep in the Little House. I slept in the big house next to my mother-in-law. My husband slept on the other side of the house. Every night we danced, Ah, we danced, we danced. All my life I had wanted to do that. In the daytime I could sleep. Sometimes I slept all day and waked in what we call the red evening to hear the rattle outside the house. Have you heard the rattle when our people come up in the night to dance? Ah, good!

The old people watched me until it was over, and then my husband and [262]
I ate the white clay together, and we could touch our heads and have salt in our food and go on as before.

One day my father-in-law said: "Should not our daughter-in-law be 159x
tattooed? Her face does not look right, all light, with no black on it." So 304
my mother-in-law tattooed these four marks I have on my chin. I lay on the floor with my head in her lap and she pricked the lines with cactus thorns. Then she rubbed in greasewood soot. It hurts frightfully but if you keep still, the marks come out narrow and clear. If you wiggle they are all blurred. I did not wiggle, but I have seen girls whose chins just look as though black juice had run down them. Mine came out very pretty and, [324]
for four days, while they healed, I ate only cactus joints to make them blue.

That fall our people were going over to race with the River People 159x
434

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

PLATE X

535
291
417

Raymond B. Spicer

a) On the dance ground

000

Raymond B. Spicer

b) Eating in the feast house

AT A FIESTA

[p.83]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

527 796 being feted, it is carried at the head of the procession by a man or on a white palanquin by a group of young girls. Children carry the smaller family *santos*, over which other children hold large wooden arches wrapped in white cloth caught at intervals with red ribbons or sprays of paper flowers. Still other boys and girls carry lighted candles. Behind them march the men and women who lead the hymns, and the crowd follows. The orchestra walks beside the main procession, playing modern dance music, while the crowd sings Spanish hymns, unmindful of the orchestra. At intervals the singing stops, prayers are said in Spanish, but the dance music continues. After marching around the dance ground and the church, the procession enters the church for hymns and prayers.

When the short service is concluded, the religious phase of the fiesta is at an end, and all except a few pious old ladies or mothers with tiny babies leave the church for the dance ground. The women sit on the benches or tend to the cooking, and the men collect in groups. Large fires are lit, and lanterns are hung on the posts.

527 533 The orchestra, composed of violins, guitars, and snare and bass drums, plays two or three tunes, then the leader and the village chief make short speeches of welcome, in which the celebrants are bidden to enjoy the fiesta but to avoid drunkenness and to respect the property of others.

527 533 535 The children ordinarily start the dance; young girls, dancing together, are next on the floor; finally, young men and even old people join in. Some fairly recent jazz tunes are played, such as "Roll Out the Barrel" and "You Are My Sunshine," but most of the music consists of polkas and schottisches. Although some of the boarding-school Indians know the correct steps for these dances, almost everyone dances a sort of adapted foxtrot, the man usually grasping his partner tightly around the neck. Sometimes automobile lights are turned on the dancers with their gay rayon dresses and bright shirts. The crowd dances in a counterclockwise circle, and the schoolboy who tries to vary this pattern is sharply rebuked by the dancers he impedes.

527 535 At most fiestas a solo dancer (*pahkowla*) appears late in the evening. He is usually an elderly medicine man who dances and makes jokes for the amusement of the crowd. Barefoot, with his trousers rolled up, he wears strings of cocoon rattles wrapped around his legs from ankle to knee. To the music of one violin and a guitar or harp, the *pahkowla* performs his dance with arms hanging loosely from the shoulders and his body slightly bent forward; he stamps with one foot and scrapes the other into position on the unaccented beat of the music. His jokes, directed at the men in the audience, are frequently

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

vulgar.[8] Toward the end of his dance men or women from the crowd may join the *pahkowla*. Afterward the dancing goes on as before. Sometimes there are fireworks, a chicken-pull, or an olla-breaking.[9]

Meanwhile in the feast house the male members of the host families are serving all the guests with chili, tamales, coffee, wheat buns, possibly beans, *garbanzos* (chick-peas), a meat-vegetable stew, and usually rice pudding or stewed fruit. There is considerable drinking in the darkness away from the fire and, since it is impolite to refuse a proffered bottle, a good deal of drunkenness. The police are frequently invited to be present in order to prevent trouble.

The fiesta does not break up until all the food is gone, perhaps at dawn or noon of the following day. Then the orchestra plays "Home, Sweet Home" in waltz time to close the dance.

On certain feast days there are special observances. On San José's Day friends tie silk scarves, belts, and other gifts on the arms of all the men and women named for the saint, in a ceremony called "tying the Joses and Josefinas." The Joses and Josefinas must then reciprocate by pouring drinks for the givers and finally for the whole crowd. At the fiesta of San Francisco objects blessed during the annual pilgrimage are brought out for the edification of the crowd.

MAGDALENA

Faith in San Francisco Xavier and his good works has a deep hold on all Papago Catholics and is one of the main foci of Sonora Catholic belief. To some of these Indians this saint seems even more important than the Trinity, and every family hopes to make a pilgrimage to his church at Magdalena in Sonora, Mexico, each year.

Padre Kino, who brought Christianity to the Papago, dedicated the Magdalena church in 1711 to the patron saint of the Jesuits, Francis Xavier. During the ceremony Kino took ill at the altar and died shortly thereafter. He was buried in the church near the altar. As the fame of Kino's work among the Indians spread, the church became a shrine to which great crowds came from all over northwestern Mexico and what is now Arizona to celebrate the saint's day, December 3. Apparently when the Franciscan order replaced the

8. The *pahkoola*'s dance and jests may be copied from the Yaqui *pascola*, whom the Papago see performing in the United States and in Mexico, particularly at Magdalena. On special occasions the Papago hire *pascolas* from Arizona Yaqui villages to dance for them.

9. In chicken-pulling, a rooster is buried up to the neck and riders run their horses toward it, leaning over to try to pull it out of the ground. In olla-breaking, people take turns hitting with sticks at an olla full of candies which hangs from a corner of the church. When someone succeeds in breaking the olla, everyone scrambles for the sweets that fall out.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

THE CHILD FROM ELEVEN TO EIGHTEEN

Shortly after the little girls start the dancing (imitative ballroom style), the adolescent girls begin. They dance together in the afternoon, for it is not until evening that boys and men join the group. Then all through the night and perhaps until noon the next day, the girls dance—usually with boys their own age, sometimes with men, otherwise with each other. Only the youngest of the adolescents—the girls of eleven and twelve—do not dance with males. Etiquette requires that the man come over to the bench where the girl is sitting to ask her to dance. He does not choose a partner until the music starts, hence there is no opportunity for conversation between dances. When boy and girl dance together, they do not talk or laugh; both are silent and completely serious. The instant the music stops, they break the embrace and go rapidly to opposite sides of the dance ground. There is little other opportunity for social intercourse between them at the dances, and girls are not supposed to leave the lighted area of the fiesta ground except to go into church infrequently to rest.

THE BOY GROWS UP

No ceremony marks the puberty of a boy, but just as certainly as the girl he is oriented toward the world of adults. When he is about eleven years old, a boy begins helping the men of the household. He learns to plow, plant, hoe, and harvest crops; to herd, rope, and brand cattle in the co-operative roundups; to care for horses, build fences, and repair buildings. Gradually, as his strength and skill increase, he learns to do a man's full share of work. No longer does he merely do odd jobs assigned him at intervals; whenever he is not at school, he is expected to help with the work at hand until it is finished.

From this time on his leisure at home as well as his working hours will be spent mostly with the men of the household. Occasionally the teen-age boy will handle a small child or try to get him to walk or talk, and once in a while he may condescend to join his younger brothers in a game of marbles. Away from home older boys as well as girls show considerable concern for their younger siblings' welfare and proper conduct, but in the family group the adolescent boy is definitely associated with the men; he sits and talks with them while his younger brothers dash about the yard. If the family includes a man in his early twenties, the youth will probably be on intimate terms with him.[1] He is now closer to his father than at any time since babyhood, for his father teaches him and works side by side with him. Like all the men, the boy has great respect for his grandfather and works under his direction. It is the grandfather who talks about proper conduct, teaching the lad that a good Papago is honest and industrious and lives at peace with his fellow-men.

1. This relationship is comparable in many respects with that of five-to-ten-year-old girls with young women of the households (see chap. ix).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

883 The boys do not dance as constantly as the girls of their age, for they never
535 dance with each other. If a lad is interested in a particular girl, he will ask her to dance oftener than the others, but he generally chooses many different partners during the night.

ADOLESCENTS AT SCHOOL

883 Papago children begin to drop out of Reservation schools at about thirteen,
872 and few youths remain after they are fifteen. (The decrease in day-school attendance is partially offset by the increase in off-Reservation boarding-school enrolments from this group.) Few families except some in the eastern villages exert pressure on the young people to stay in school. Those who remain do so because they really want to, and their attendance is quite regular except when their help is especially needed at home on account of harvest, roundup, or illness. A few students (probably about the same proportion as in most white groups) remain at school because they are genuinely interested in learning; these are the boys and girls who attempt to use English outside the classroom and keep extra books in their desks for use in spare time, but the great majority come to school to be with friends from other villages or to escape the routine of work at home.

In the average government school teen-age boys and girls are placed together in one classroom. Since the group may include mere beginners as well as youngsters who can meet the standards of upper elementary grades in white schools, division within the room is on the basis of academic attainment. Instruction in the tool subjects is carried on much as in the younger group. Some adolescent youngsters can use a sixth-grade reader, a fourth-grade arithmetic, and a fourth- or fifth-grade spelling book. In most schools the children learn to carry on at least a simple conversation in English (the case depending upon the amount of contact with whites and the aptitude of the students); but they almost always remain shy in their attempts to converse with white people.

In addition to the tool subjects, two of the larger government schools give manual training to the boys and teach cooking and sewing to the girls. A few others keep beehives or chickens for boys to tend. In nearly every school the girls set the tables for lunch, help serve the food, clear tables, and dry dishes, all under the supervision of the Papago cook. Instruction in the mission schools is limited mainly to academic and religious subjects.

Some government schools have athletic teams, but playground sports are largely unorganized; adolescent boys throw and bounce a basketball or occasionally have a game of marbles, but they rarely use the playground equipment or scuffle together as the small boys do. No marked leadership is apparent, and boys of the same village do not group together as they did when

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa 174 511 431 this spirit of giving. But not only was the Papago practice of giving motivated by economic considerations; generosity was a high virtue and giving was truly an investment in good will. One who secured a reputation for penury definitely lost caste in village and family life. Moreover, all gifts were returned in equal quantity and more. Such continuous exchange of goods in the form of gifts constituted the Papago equivalent for trade but only rarely attained the status of actual trade.

Pa 174 439 In addition to the extensive system of exchange of goods among themselves, some Papago made trading expeditions to the Yuma. They also journeyed to the middle Gila, the San Pedro and the Indians in the Altar Valley, then later among the Mexicans of various parts of Sonora. This was done particularly at harvest time, Papago from the northern villages traveling to the Gila where they had relatives and friends, those from the southern settlements being in closer contact with Mexico, particularly the Altar Valley. At these places they traded numerous articles and labored in return for food, in historic times chiefly wheat, but formerly maize and beans, as well as cotton. This was observed in 1740, later by Anza;[38] Pi Pa again in 1863-64, and in 1893 by Whittemore,[39] who also noted that when the Papago became very hungry they would [635] [73] journey to the Gila and present for the Pima a "Begging Dance" which had a specific form and lasted two or three nights, in return for which each Pima family was expected to contribute fifty to one hundred pounds of wheat.

Pa 174 464 In Mexico a few Papago worked as cowboys and at miscellaneous tasks, for which they were paid in money. Such contacts resulted in a more rapid deculturation and disorganization than occurred in the northern villages. Specifically these villages in the south, some of which had raised cattle since Kino's day, began about a century ago to acquire cattle in larger numbers. As a result of hire for money among the

[38] *Documentos*, 3rd ser., IV, 838; Bolton, *Anza*, II, 17.

[39] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1863, p. 384; *ibid.* for 1864, p. 155; Whittemore, in *Among the Pimas*, pp. 81-3.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

practices in parts of the Papago territory, to insure a good yield of both wild and cultivated crops, was to make effigies of the desired fruits and plant them in the gathering grounds after a night of ritual singing; or merely an ironwood stake would be planted instead of an effigy. In general the Papago did not ask for things directly, but in their rituals made statements to the Great Spirit and assumed their needs would be taken care of.

In addition to individual or personal ritualism, the Pimans had certain group ceremonies. After the crops had been put away, inter-village rejoicing often took place, at which games and races were held; this was occasion for jollification, as food was plentiful. People from other villages who helped in the observance were given meals and, at times, such products as corn to take home as a reward for their services. This celebration was held reciprocally from year to year, but always at a village which had harvested a good crop.

A characteristic and important Papago ritual was the green corn ceremony, held when the plants were about three feet high and just before the grain began to set, usually in September. Men gathered ocotillo poles and sang songs over them, then went to the fields and stuck an ocotillo rod at the base of certain corn plants, as well as representatives of each of the several kinds of crops. The object was to invoke the plant to grow strong like ocotillo and bear fruit. This ceremony was a combination of solicitation for a good crop and thanksgiving for those already received.

A regular ritual, practiced by both Papago and Pima, was the rain ceremony held at the time of giant cactus harvest (see fig. 5). This celebrated the beginning of the Piman New Year, and was the occasion when the fruit of sahuaro was fermented to yield an alcoholic beverage, which was drunk in quantity. This was performed specifically to bring rain, and, formerly, planting was never begun until after the first rain ceremony had been held. This was not because it

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pi Pa 241 789 635 was taboo, but due to dryness of the soil. Any village which found it convenient held the first ceremony and "caused the rain," then other villages in succession held celebrations during the summer to insure the continuation of rains. One custom was to erect two poles outdoors, about fifteen feet apart, and stretch a rope between them; on this shamans tied eagle feathers, symbolical of clouds, and all danced around these ceremonial objects.

Pi Pa 241 789 787 Pima informants spoke of a "rain calling" ceremony in which certain groups of people got together in the council house for the purpose of bringing rain. Runners were sent out into every part of the village to secure all available sotol mats, then four posts were erected in a square and the mats arranged around these to form an enclosure, leaving an entrance at the east. Large baskets were placed upside down around the wall, inside the enclosure. Three shamans sat near the west wall, facing the east, with singers behind the baskets. Before each shaman was placed a large bowl containing eagle down, symbolic of clouds, and laid beside the bowls were tail feathers of an eagle. Using notched wooden rasping sticks, the musicians made a peculiar noise by drawing these over the baskets, and all joined in the singing. This was done four times. At certain stages each shaman took all the eagle down from the bowl in front of him, grasped it tightly in his left hand, rubbed it with his right hand and held it to the west, rubbed it again and held it toward the east, and so on in all directions. Then, changing the feathers to his right hand, he moved around in front of the baskets shaking the feathers toward the singers.

This ceremony was carried on during the entire night, and, at its close, the shamans revealed what they had "seen" during the night and prophesied how many days would elapse before it rained.

This is doubtless the "rain-calling" ceremony referred to

Fig. 5. Papago Rain Dance. (Reproduced from Underhill, *The Papago Indians of Arizona and their Relatives the Pima*, through the permission and courtesy of Dr. Willard W. Beatty, Director of Education, U. S. Office of Indian Affairs.)

[p. 225]

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NUA2
Pima NUA9

P. Pl. 241 NM 301 291 935

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

SONGS CONNECTED WITH CEREMONIES

Dance in Supplication to the Sun

533X
535
796

The origin of this dance is unknown, but all the songs used at the opening of the dance were received in a dream by one person. The dance is called *Ciccitkona*, which means "hopping," and the dance had reference to the fertility of the field, but adverse circumstances made it impossible to obtain full data concerning it. The circle of dancers might move either clockwise or contraclockwise. In the middle of the circle was a representation of the sun, toward which the dancers extended their hands during song No. 97. Many songs were sung at rehearsals, and the man giving the dance selected those to be used at the performance. One of the opening songs contained the words, "I will stand here and begin to sing. The women hear and all come. You stand here and sing with me." The next three songs were recorded by a man living near San Xavier Mission. (Pl. 13, *b*.) The following song could be sung at any time:

533X

No. 96. "Clouds Roll Toward Me"

(Catalogue No. 1063)

Recorded by Leonardo Rios

TRANSLATION

At the south side is water covered with green scum. Above it clouds roll toward me. I see this and think perhaps I will be caught in the rain, so I return home.

Analysis.—This song contains six sorts of intervals in ascending and five in descending progression, which is an unusual variety. A

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

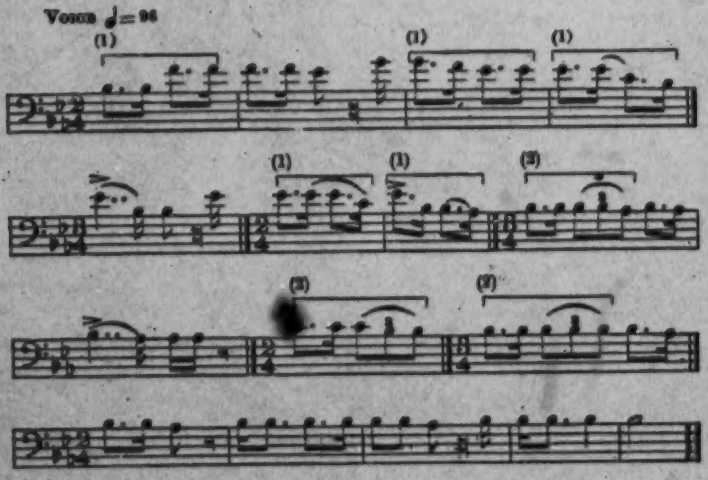
X 533 majority of the melody lies below the keynote. Three rhythmic units occur, all beginning with the same count division. It is an interesting and lively melody, forming a notable contrast to the songs of the preceding group.

A general dancing song which was not transcribed contained the words, "A powerful eagle left his dwelling place and wandered away. He found the dwelling place of Elder Brother and went inside. He got some clouds from Elder Brother's house and wandered over the village and gave rain to the fields."

No. 96. "Great White Birds Over the Ocean"

(Catalogue No. 1064)

Recorded by LEONARDO RIOS



TRANSLATION

The great white birds that fly over the ocean came to our singing place, and over the ground they strung about.

Analysis.—The same characteristics appear in this as in the song next preceding. The tone material, compass, and first and last tones are the same, but the present song contains a much larger proportion of whole tone progressions. Attention is directed to the accented tones followed by descending fourths.

● [535] During the next song the dancers extended their hands toward the representation of the sun.

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THE WAKITA

881 The puberty dance of the Papago was called *Wakita*. A young girl on her maturity was isolated for four days in the care of an older woman, not a relative. They prepared their own meals and ate together and the young girl occupied much of her time in making a basket which she gave to the older woman. It was part of this woman's duty to instruct the girl in the tribal ethics regarding women and also to teach her such simple household tasks as she had not already learned. During this time the girl was not allowed to taste salt and was required to use a stick in scratching her hair or body. [533] The maturity of a young girl was regarded with awe and songs were sung to "cure her."

881 Soon after her isolation the parents of the girl gave a feast if they could afford it, also a dance which continued four nights, the people 533 gathering in the evening and dancing all night. The principal songs 535 were those received in dreams. One man led the singing, and sang each song slowly so the others could learn it, then he said, "hoj, hoj," in an encouraging manner and they all sang. In old times these songs were accompanied by the shaking of a gourd rattle. The girl for whom the ceremony was given stood next to the leading singer. She was not allowed to sit down during the entire night, though the dancers rested after each song. Her face was not painted and there was no change from her usual manner of dress. At midnight the people partook of the feast provided by her parents.

Men and women joined in the dance, standing in long lines facing each other. The men and women did not alternate but stood as they might chance to do. The dance consisted in retreating a few steps and advancing to the first position. Some old women danced around the entire group of people, singing the same song as the other dancers. The first of these songs was received in a dream by Ciko, who was one of the singers at this ceremony.

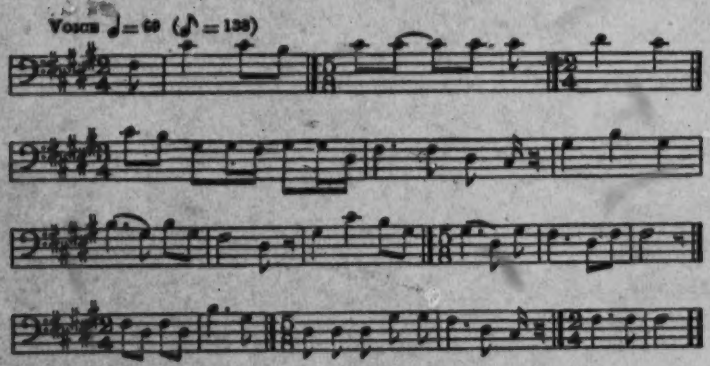
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

When the warriors approached the village the women, especially the relatives of warriors, went to meet them and receive the trophies they brought. The warriors danced on their way to the village, and on reaching the village they went to every house and danced. When this was finished they stopped until evening, when the scalp dance began. Captives, as well as scalps, were brought by the returning warriors, and the next song is concerning children taken captive among the Apache. The song has a dignity and pathos that are worthy of note.

No. 135. "The Little Captive Children"

(Catalogue No. 1062)

Recorded by VICTORIA



TRANSLATION

Men shouting "brother," men shouting "brother,"
Among the mountains they have taken little Apache children where the sun went down in sorrow,
All women, what shall we do to realise this?

Analysis.—The words and idea of this song are so unusual that we look for some peculiarity in the melody. We find that almost half the intervals are minor thirds, though the song is major in tonality, and that about 19 per cent of the intervals are fourths, while the major third does not occur. The last two measures, preceded by a rest and containing no progressions, are an admirable expression of the appeal contained in the final words of the song.

Warriors who had been wounded were taken to a quiet place at some distance from the camp, where they remained four days. By the end of that time it was known whether they would recover.

The warriors who killed Apache were required to undergo an ordeal of purification called lustration, during which they endured even greater hardships than on the warpath, thus expiating the crime of

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X533 *Analysis.*—In the steady rhythm and frequent quarter notes of this song we feel the power and self-control expressed in the words. The tempo is more rapid than in a majority of songs in this group. The song is rhythmic but not thematic in character and is based on the fourth five-toned scale.

The fourth song of the group was not transcribed, but contains the following words:

We sit here and sing, all of you feel brave, some of you
say that you are brave.
Think of your club,
Have it ready in your hand for use in danger,
Your mind will shine ahead of you and tell you what to do.

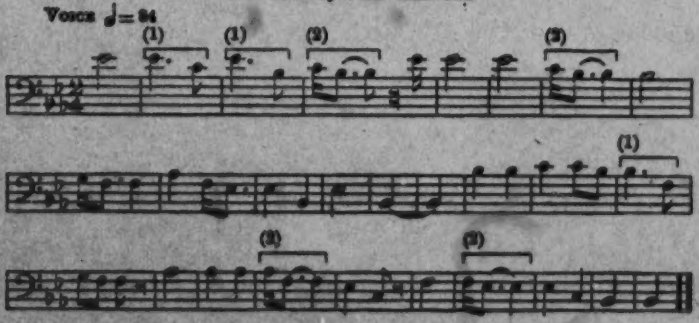
These four songs are characterized by a repetition of a descending and ascending whole tone, and by the interval of a fourth. The songs not transcribed resemble those that are transcribed and the peculiarities of the group are not commonly noted in Papago songs.

727 While the wounded warriors and those who had killed Apache were
535 in seclusion the remainder of the war party were leading a victory dance. The scalps of the Apache were placed on poles that were stuck in the ground and the people danced around them. Any member of the tribe might take one of the poles, dance with it, and return it to its place.

X533 The two songs next following are songs of the scalp dance and were recorded by a man who had been to war against the Apache. The next song was sung by the warriors, and the last portion of the words may refer to the ordeal of purification already described.

No. 138. "Sing Louder" (Catalogue No. 1002)

Recorded by JOSE MANUEL



TRANSLATION

Sing it so I will hear as you sing.
It is your own fault that will punish you for what you have done.

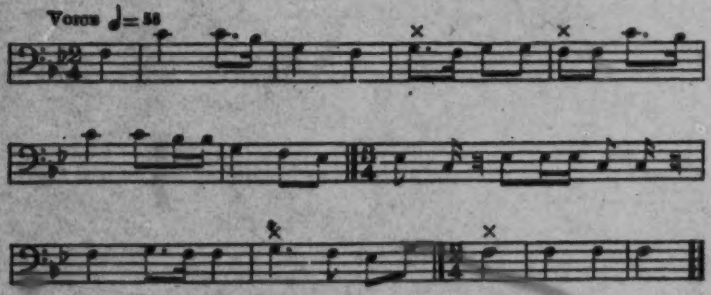
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

appear to have been more clearly defined than among other tribes under observation. The song had two sets of words, one of which appeared to be spoken by the Apache and the other by the pursuing Papago.

No. 141. Song Concerning a Wounded Apache

(Catalogue No. 1020)

Recorded by RAFAEL MENDEZ



WORDS

(First set of words, supposed to be spoken by the Apache)

Near sunset time I fall down,
Near sunset time I fall down,
I am going almost like a drunken man.

(Second set of words, indicating where war cries were given)

It is toward evening (yell), he falls (yell),
It is toward evening,
He falls, he staggers like a drunken man (yell).

Analysis.—This is an excellent example of a song on the first five-toned scale in which the third and seventh tones of the octave are omitted. A dotted eighth followed by a sixteenth note occurs frequently, and the song has the general effect associated with a five-toned scale. It begins and ends on the fifth, while the keynote appears only as an unaccented tone. The song is particularly vigorous except the final phrase, which is almost appealing. The triumphant yells of the warriors occur three times in the song.

The time required for the purification of Papago who had killed Apache was 16 days, the period being divided into four equal parts, as already described. On the evening of the sixteenth day the warriors bathed, braided their hair, painted their bodies, and went to the victory dance. This marked the beginning of the *Limo*, which lasted four days and was characterized by the final disposal of the Apache scalps. As the warriors advanced the people shouted and fired guns. Arrived at the place of the dance, the leader of the warriors took a shield and led the *Kapatowa* dance, jumping about

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

727 and enacting scenes of the warpath. Any one who wished could join
535 him. The warriors in turn took the shield and led the dance. At this dance there were always two circles of dancers and there might be four or five different dances. Thus a "wind dance" might be in progress during the *Limo*, four of these songs appearing as Nos. 144 to 147.

X 533

No. 142. Opening Song of the Lime

(Catalogue No. 1076)

Recorded by NUÑEZ

TRANSLATION

How did you kill?
Oh, how did you hang the scalp on the pole?

Analysis.—A sliding tone was employed throughout this song, which was the only song recorded by Nuñez. The song is analyzed with D flat as its keynote, and the second and sixth (E flat and B flat) are strongly emphasized, a peculiarity that has been noted frequently in these songs. Only two notes occur that are longer than a quarter note. These are accented half notes and seem to balance the frequency of dotted eighths followed by sixteenths. Both gourd rattles and basket drums were used with these songs.

X 533 The warriors then went to a place about 20 yards from the large
727 dance circle, where, early the next morning, a special ceremony
535 would be enacted. A large fire was made and tended by the men who had waited upon the warriors during their period of fasting and who were experienced in their duties. The men who had killed Apache sat together facing the east. At some distance from them sat a group of men who had killed Apache on former expeditions and who sang their own dream songs. Each man sang his song once or twice alone and then the others joined him. These songs were Komotan and were said to be "sung for the benefit of the men who had been fasting." The same songs were sung to cure the illnesses which were supposed to be caused by the spirits of dead Apache. (See No. 71.) While these songs were being sung a man who had killed an Apache

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

on a former expedition danced around the fire carrying a club and followed by four or five women. This action of the man was a severe test of his strength as he was required to keep it up until daybreak, jumping sidewise, up and down, trotting, dodging forward, falling down, and acting in every way as he had acted on the warpath. He carried whatever he had carried when on the warpath. Hugh Norris said he had seen such a man fall as though shot, then jump up and go on. The only time he stopped and walked was when he went over and put his hand on the heads of the men who had killed Apache, one after another. The singers were silent when he did this, and when it was completed he waved his hand as a signal for the singing to be resumed. When the singers were silent at other times he stood erect and danced on one foot. The women imitated his action, even trying to "jump in his tracks." They were not required to continue all night but could "change off" when they were tired.

In the early morning of the next day an Apache scalp and an effigy of an Apache was placed in a "spirit basket," to be kept and respected by each warrior who had killed an Apache. He assumed the care of this scalp as a serious responsibility, believing that sickness and evil would follow any neglect of his obligation to it. A "medicine basket" is described and illustrated by Frank Russell [39] and the writer's informant identified this as the type of basket used for containing an Apache scalp. Russell states, "Medicine baskets are the same material and style of weaving as the trinket basket." They are long, square cornered, with rounded margin, and are made in two nearly equal parts, one of which slips over the other as a lid. The effigy of the Apache was about 2 inches long, the dimensions of the basket allowing for a wrapping of cloth. It was made of a kind of mud that will not crack and the head was made of the sap that dries on greasewood. When this is soaked it becomes like glue and a face can be modeled in it. A tuft of white eagle down was put on the head. It sometimes took several men to kill an Apache and they all shared the honor, the scalp being cut into the proper number of pieces, a few hairs being sufficient to be put with the effigy. Thus the preparation for the Limo included the providing of the spirit baskets, the making of the effigies, and the count of the scalps (or portions of scalps), so there was one for each warrior who had shared in the killing of an Apache. The dividing of the scalps made it possible to provide for the spirit baskets and also have scalps for carrying in the victory dances.

An old medicine man had charge of the ceremony of placing the Apache effigies and scalps in the baskets. At the time of the ceremony he sat facing the warriors, holding the effigies and a corresponding number of Apache scalps or pieces of scalp. The warriors

[39] Op. cit., p. 148.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

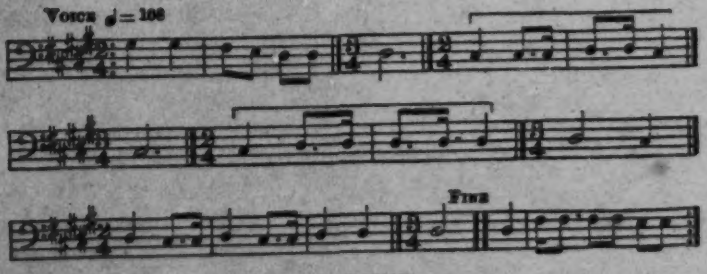
its significance and physical suffering. The two rhythmic units begin with the same count divisions. It is interesting to note that the seventh measure reverses the count divisions in the second rhythmic unit. The connective phrase shows a triplet on an unaccented count, this count division occurring on an accented count in the song.

The men who had taken care of the warriors then conducted them to a clear cold pond, breaking the ice if necessary. The men took a cold plunge, after which each man went to his own lodge, taking his spirit basket with him. It was kept in a safe place and frequently was placed in an olla. The responsibility incident to the possession of a spirit basket has been described on page 103. The *Limo* continued three more days. If the warriors who had killed Apache desired to attend these dances they wore no decorations except a horizontal line of black paint below each eye. Presents were given at these dances. The scalps that had been carried in the victory dances were taken to other villages and carried in one dance after another. Finally they were given to the warriors, who kept them.

A dance that was performed in one of the circles during the Limo was called the Wind dance. Four of its songs were recorded and are as follows.

No. 144. "I Am Going to Another Part of Elder Brother's Land"
(Catalogue No. 927)

Recorded by SIVARIANO GARCIA



TRANSLATION

I am going to another part of Elder Brother's land,
I have reached the land,
With a handsome child (captive) I am returning.

Analysis.—The keynote of this song occurs only as the first tone and is also the highest tone of the compass. This is unique among Indian songs analyzed by the writer. The subdominant is a particularly prominent tone. Attention is directed to the third and fourth measures from the close which reverse the count divisions of the rhythmic unit.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

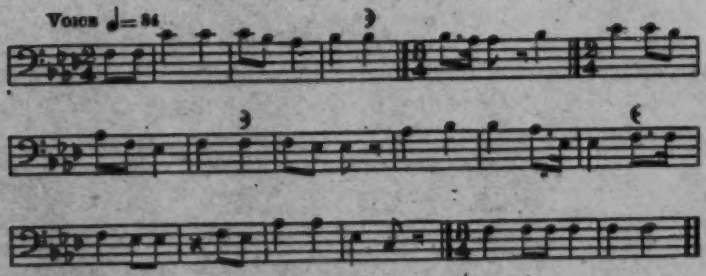
X 533 *Analysis.*—This song is entirely different in character from the preceding group, in accordance with its use. It is a lively melody with a simple rhythmic unit which is frequently repeated. The fourth is an interval associated with motion, and this interval constitutes 16 of the 50 intervals in this song. The compass of the song is nine tones, with the keynote about midway, and the melody moves freely between the highest and lowest tones.

[191] It is said that medicine men were able to secure success for a racer by the use of their psychic power. The following is the song of such a man, seeking success for a friend. The words of this song were not recorded.

No. 149. Song for Success in a Race

(Catalogue No. 993)

Recorded by MATTHIAS HENDRICKS



Analysis.—This song is more serious in character than the preceding. It opens with two rather wistful phrases but becomes more confident at the ninth measure. A feeling of uncertainty reappears in the last two measures. It is interesting to note the frequency with which an accented tone is approached by an ascending progression. The ninth and sixteenth measures are rendered more effective by the preceding eighth rest and ascent of a fourth. The ascending and descending intervals are about equal in number (11 and 12), which is unusual in Indian songs.

SONGS OF THE BAT DANCE

X 533 535 This dance is seldom held at the present time but was witnessed by the writer on the night of December 25, 1920. In order to see this, it was necessary to go about 90 miles from a town and 10 miles from Vomari village where songs were recorded. Men and women joined in this dance, moving in a circle and holding hands but not facing steadily inward. They walked behind one another, the line being led by a man who carried a gourd rattle in his right hand, shaking it in time to the music. All sang, and emphasized the song by stamping with the right foot. There was a leader of the singers as well as of

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

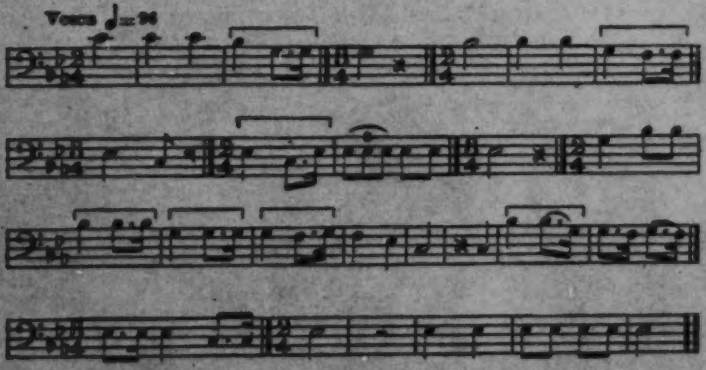
the dancers. The accompanying instrument was a basket, inverted on the ground in the middle of the circle and struck with the palm of the hand by men seated around it. Sometimes the basket was struck with both hands, but if several men were seated around it each struck it with his right hand.

In the Bat dance the songs were sung by both men and women, the latter singing an octave higher. During a portion of the song one or two women took a high tone and sustained it as a drone, then descended to the pitch of the other women's voices, using several intermediate tones in the descent. It was said that only a few women could sing this drone, which appeared to be regarded as an embellishment to the song. (See p. 14.)

According to Hugh Norris the Bat dance originated with a man who was stricken with grief at the death of his wife. He was lying on the ground when he felt something touch him. The visitants told him that he would have this dance and would be happy when the people were dancing with him. They said, "Do you know what touched you? We are the bats." So he called it the Bat dance and he himself goes by the name of Bat. He received the first Bat dance songs in his dream.

No. 159. Opening Song of the Bat Dance
(Catalogue No. 1051)

Recorded by Jose Ascencio



TRANSLATION

Now the songs are going to begin and I am going away.
All over the mountains and on top of the mountains I sing.
Ajo mountain, on top of it I am singing and walking around.

Analysis.—The first note of this song is the highest tone and the only occurrence of the keynote, a peculiarity noted also in No. 147. Five rests occur in the song, one being the duration of an entire measure. The phrases, as outlined by these rests, are from three to

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

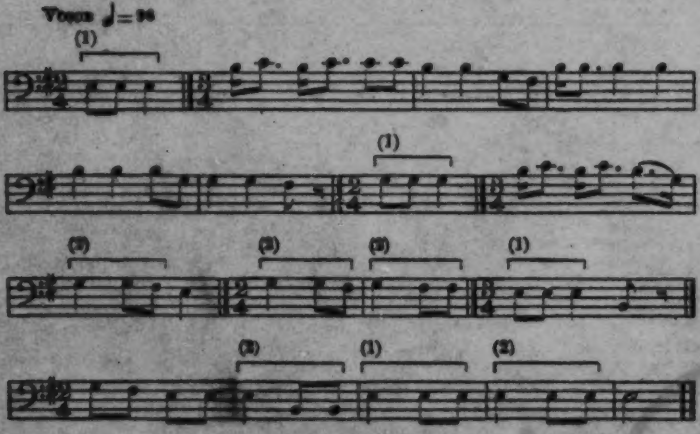
X 533 six measures in length. The song is based on the second five-toned scale and contains only two intervals larger than a minor third.

X 533 A different origin was attributed to the dance by Mattias Hen-
● 535 dricks, of Vomari village, who said it is associated with the foot
781 races. According to Hendricks a certain man found that he could not be a good runner. He had a dream in which a man took him to the sea. As they walked beside the sea they saw a crowd of people dancing. The men stopped at some distance from the dancers and the escort said, "Stay here and listen to the songs they sing." When morning came the man woke and found he had been dreaming. The same dream returned four times, after which the unsuccessful runner started the Bat dance. Two songs were recorded and are the property of Kaścok. The bats always fly in the warm evening and again in the early morning, and the songs are those of the evening and morning.

X 533 No. 151. "My Wings Make a Noise as I Fly".

(Catalogue No. 994)

Recorded by MATTIAS HENDRICKS



TRANSLATION

The evening looked red and I came out. Into all the houses I went and my wings are making a noise as I fly around in the house.

Analysis.—Almost half the intervals in this song are semitones and the minor third occurs only once. The song is harmonic in structure. Two rhythmic units occur, the second reversing the count divisions of the first unit.

The morning song was not transcribed but contained these words: "In the early morning I come out and fly all over the top of the mountain. The morning shines clear down to where the sun sets but leaves a little bit of darkness there."

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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778 said, and they were not in a position to show me; perhaps the makai (medicine-men), who were coming tonight to tell when the rain would arrive, would show me. But to see those things was a risky affair, connected with possibilities of harm to the beholder. As we were returning to camp Pablo said to me: "Probably those Indians never before spoke like that to a white man."

796 The rest of the day was spent in a house to house canvass and many baskets were bought. In the evening Pablo and I again walked over to see the dancing which had commenced anew at dusk. He soon joined the dancers and evidently the "old Adam" reasserted itself within him, for he danced with fervor the whole night.

As one sees everything better by taking part oneself in the proceedings, I, too, broke into the circle, grabbing those next to me by the hand. The orthodox way is to [516] [535] intertwine the fingers as one may see sailors do when they are ashore, or peasant girls of Norway when going to a dance in their finery. My white dress made me a conspicuous object in the dark night, and my dancing and singing evoked merriment among those sitting around. There was no difficulty in getting into the right tune, and my partners on either side, as well as the rest of those actively engaged, were too serious about their work to be distracted.

Just about the time that I entered into the performance, the medicine-men who were sitting with their legs crossed in front of the fire began to show activity. One of them suddenly bent forward and put his mouth near

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 292 531 from the blue to the top of the mask, probably painted with ochre, which bore white figures in dots or short lines, and the lower zone in white, probably clay, which extended to the bottom of the mask and bore designs in red, which varied with each mask. All these red patterns resembled the typical Papago black-on-red pottery designs, consisting of scrolls, hachuring, diagonal lines, diamonds, etc.

796 292 The two choristers who did not wear gourd masks were small boys, who wore instead sack-like coverings of canvas which fitted down over their shoulders. These were not fringed. On the crowns was a clump of mustard yellow material, possibly dyed cornhusks, about two inches in diameter and an inch high. The masks had eyeholes, round ears of some thick material, possibly rawhide, about two inches long semi-circular and concave, and plugs or round wooden sticks, each about three-quarters of an inch in diameter and three inches long, fastened to the mask in place of a mouthhole. One of these was straight with squared end, the other was hooked and pointed. They were not painted, nor did the masks bear any painting.

DANCE MOVEMENTS, SONG, RITUAL OBJECTS

796 533 535 The dancers and chorus at this noon ceremony on Friday performed evolutions which were simpler and less elaborate than those performed on Saturday. The chorus entered the enclosure and there received from the old man the objects which its members were to carry. The dancers meanwhile waited outside the enclosure, posturing and treading the ground and jingling their bells. When the choristers had received their equipment, they formed in line in front of the enclosure and marched single file around it, contra-clockwise, preceded by the dancers, who leaped and ran and caverted in front of them. When they had completed the circuit, the chorus came to rest, facing south, the leader nearest the enclosure, and the dancers stopped before the entrance, in front of the chorus, in a group. During this march the chorus was singing, and continued to sing after halting, raising and lowering their right heels in time to the song. The dancers shuffled or stamped or leapt into the air as they pleased, always in time to the song. They did not follow any fixed pattern in their movements about the dance ground, but milled about in a group, some dancing in one spot throughout.

796 533 The song, always to the same tune, seeming to be repetitive generally in the pattern a-a-b-b-a, was wordless, the syllable o-o-o-oh being used throughout, although words may have been rendered indistinguishable by the muffling of the masks. The time was the same throughout the song, but the rhythm was varied. The range of notes was short, probably not exceeding an octave. At the end of the pattern, the chorus repeated twice a long drawnout o-o-o-oh, each beginning on the same note, increasing in volume and rising about a half tone, held for a moment and ending in a slight diminuendo and a very slight drop in tone. At the

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

end of each, just before the tone stopped, a high pitched, clear, two syllabled call was sounded by a chorister, possibly by means of a whistle, which resembled a phrase of turkey or quail conversation. 796 533

During the first o-o-o-oh, the choristers raised the objects which they carried to armslength above their heads; during the second, they lowered them again to waist level. The dancers poised themselves at the end of the tune, and violently shook their hips during each o-o-o-oh poising again at attention between the two. The chorus repeated the song several times while standing in line, then trotted around the enclosure in silence, preceded by the running dancers, and entered it, giving their objects back to the old men and receiving new ones. 796 533 535

The objects which they carried varied with each period of dancing. No order or sequence in the distribution was noticed, though the cotton covered triangles, described below, were carried at intervals. These objects were, variously, slender wands 18" long or so, painted red with white banding; similar wands with desert grasses, possibly Indian wheat, tied around them at the top; slender wands, red, with balls made of raw cotton, about 4" in diameter, formed on the upper end, and with zigzag brown lines radiating from the top center and running down the sides; isoscoles triangles held upright, the downward extension of the two long sides serving as handles, and the triangles filled in solidly with raw cotton, with a zigzag brown line on the front; husked ears of corn. 796 535 293

The chorus also carried, during one period, a flat, stretcher-like framework covered with white cloth, about eight feet in length, with rounded upper end, made by lashing light cross pieces to an outside frame. This was carried upright by several choristers, and the other choristers took sahuaro fruit-gathering sticks from the sides of the enclosure where they had been placed, and supported the frame with these hooking them over the top. These poles were about twelve feet long, with a short stick crossed near the top at an angle, the whole painted red. When the period ended, these poles were stuck back vertically into the arrowweed walls of the enclosure. [482] [412]

This dance lasted possibly an hour and a half. Towards the close, the old men inside brought out bundles of the objects, wrapped in burlap or blankets, and placed them in the wagons. They also brought out several bundles of clothing belonging to the dancers and put them also in wagons. Men also brought out gourd vessels, painted white with red designs trailing from the mouths, and placed them in the wagons. Several of these were wrapped in sacking. 796 [531]

At the close of the dance, the choristers took the cloth-covered framework and arranged themselves about it as if carrying a stretcher. The dancers grouped themselves at the forward end of the chorus, carrying the sahuaro poles, and they all set out down the road to Old Santa Rosa, to the southeast a couple of miles. While the chorus and dancers [482] 796 534

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 293 532

In the afternoon a white cloth covered framework similar to that carried at Anegam was brought out. This was about ten feet high and four feet wide, with a bilobate top, each lobe the same size, one of which had a smaller lobe at its edge just below the top. The high wind which came up before noon made this an extremely difficult thing to carry, and the dancers, propping it up with sahuaro sticks, were hard put to it to keep it from blowing away. In this period the dancers discarded their bows and arrows, took up the sahuaro fruit gathering poles and held the frame upright by hooking the short sticks at the end of the poles over the top of the frame. A similar framework was brought out a little later, probably the same one carried at Anegam.

After this a float bearing a blue mountain about 3' long and 18" high appeared. Triangles and semicircles of white paper pasted on light stick frames were fastened upright about and on the sides of the mountain. The choristers carried triangles behind this float.

The last float observed was a hemisphere on a stretcher, some four feet in diameter, solidly tied in with raw white cotton, and with brown zigzags leading from the top centre down the sides. This was almost demolished by the wind before the procession was completed. The choristers carried the wands with the cotton balls on the upper ends during this period.

796 [132]

About ten A.M. an east wind came up, blowing in gusts, and increasing in velocity as the day wore on. The dust blew in dense clouds, along the north and south sides of the enclosure, across the dance floor and directly into the lean-to. How the four young folks there breathed at all was beyond our understanding. The old man was continually wiping their faces, especially their eyes, with his cloth. In the afternoon the dust was so heavy and thick, swirling in stinging blasts, that we could not see the dancers eight feet away from us. A little girl sitting on the front bumper of a car nearby went to sleep and fell off on the ground without waking up. An hour later she was drifted deep in sand, and we were afraid she would suffocate.

About 11:30 A.M. the chorus entered the enclosure and remained inside, and we were conscious of a renewed interest and vitality in the crowd of patient and dusty spectators.

796 535 [293]

A dancer ran around to the dance floor and there, with a stick, described a circle on the ground, about 8' in diameter, leaving a narrow opening on the east side. He then returned to the group, waiting on the east side of the enclosure. Then several dancers ran to the dance floor, each carrying a gourd, painted white, with red lines trailing from the rims, each with a stopper of wadded cloth, and very carefully set them upright around the circle, just inside the line, scooping out a hollow in the ground to hold each gourd upright. These men entered the circle on hands and knees, head down, as though crawling

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

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535 through a low doorway. Other dancers, by twos and threes, did the same, while the dancers already on the floor postured and clowned and apparently made fun of the newcomers. When most or all of the dancers had brought in their gourds and set them up, the whole group ran around to the front of the enclosure and halted for a moment. Then the group again ran to the dance floor, one man carrying an effigy of a deer, made by stretch-
[532] ing a small deer hide over a stick framework, with antlers tied to its head.

This the bearer set on the gourd just south of the circle, and the dancers stalked and killed it with lances. This was accomplished with the most grotesque pantomiming, the dancers creeping up on the deer and spearing it. The crowd of spectators enjoyed this tremendously, cheering on the hunters and offering advice. Meanwhile the high gusty wind kept blowing the gourds over and rolling them on the ground, so that the dancers had to chase them and put them back in place. A little yellow puppy, very much excited by the uproar, dashed into the milling
[522] dancers, barking and chasing them. The dancers turned on the pup and pretended to hunt it, finally chasing it off, brandishing their weapons and leaping into the air. This also was much enjoyed by the onlookers.

After the deer had been dispatched, it was skinned and divided, still in pantomime. Then the dancers gathered in a great circle, tangent to the east side of the circle inscribed on the ground, and sat down.
[522] The ensuing few moments were apparently spent swapping lies about their hunting exploits, one holding his hands apart to describe the length of his catch. Another took a Bull Durham sack from his pocket and pretended to roll and light a cigarette. Others reached over and took up gourds, only to be stopped and apparently scolded by two men who sat in front of the entrance to the circle of gourds.

Soon, however, the men guarding the gourds turned and on hands and knees took them up and passed them out through the entrance. They were handed about the circle of seated dancers, who removed the stoppers and pretended to drink deep from the vessels.

Now occurred a drunken riot in pantomime, in which the dancers became drunker and drunker, and the action more and more ridiculous. One man imitated a drunk sick to his stomach, with appropriate motions, collapsing on the ground and rolling about, helped up by other drunks who
[831] then collapsed with him. Others performed various obscene gestures, mimicking the discharge of natural functions, and evincing a rather considerable knowledge of various perversions.

One by one the drunken dancers staggered off the dance floor, breaking into a run when outside the ring of spectators, and going to the enclosure. Last out were three, apparently boon companions, who had a most difficult time helping each other off the floor, complicated by the puppy, which dashed about them, yapping and snapping

at their heels, quite terrifying them. 796 535

Now, the time being twelve noon, the crowd dispersed to its various camps, and ate lunch, and for about an hour no dancers or choristers appeared.

About one P.M. a few dancers straggled out of the enclosure, as if to warm up before the afternoon performance, and by two P.M. the dance was in full swing again. The wind and dust had increased, and a heavy black cloud was moving up from the southeast, from the direction of Baboquivari. [132]

The dance from two until four P.M. employed no new floats or objects other than those noted above, but about 3:30 the young people in the lean-to, with their attendants, disappeared. The crowd began to disperse, and an old Papago told us that rain, for which they had been dancing, was coming soon, that the dance would end before five, and that after the dance, in the evening and night, everyone would get drunk. We left at four, and as we left the crowd of spectators, the dancers were coming out carrying hoes and rakes, the choristers carrying sticks on which were imitation ears of corn. The rain was almost upon us then, dense clouds of dust preceding it and blotting out the entire scene. 796 [186]

The dust was so heavy in the moments before the rain began that we had to stop our car, unable to see the road, or even houses and corrals within three feet of us. Then the rain started, and in this rain we proceeded homeward. [132]

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